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307 ✓

# RED RIVER.

BY

JOSEPH JAMES HARGRAVE, F.R.G.S.

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**Montreal :**  
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY JOHN LOVELL.  
1871.

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- Entered according to Act of Parliament, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, by JOSEPH JAMES HARGRAVE, of Fort Garry, Manitoba, in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture and Statistics of the Dominion of Canada.

Entered at Stationers' Hall, London, England.

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*To the Right Honorable the Earl of March,*

MY LORD,

Believing it possible that a book treating of Red River affairs might form a memorial, not altogether unpleasant, of your Lordship's hunting tour and residence in the fertile valley of the Saskatchewan, I have requested permission to dedicate this work to you.

The period of time occupied by the residence to which I refer was sufficiently long to enable your Lordship, in using the means you employed, to obtain an experimental knowledge of the capabilities of this country, the position of which, in the heart of the British American Possessions, confers on it so great a degree of relative importance.

That the interest felt in Rupert's Land, by your Lordship, may be stronger and more enduring than that implied by regarding it only as the scene of such an episode in your travels as the one to which I have alluded, I would venture to hope, in the interest of the country itself, the future of which may be materially affected by the influence brought to bear on its concerns by one in your Lordship's high position.

I have the honour to be,

MY LORD,

Your obedient servant,

J. J. HARGRAVE.





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## P R E F A C E.

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ABOUT half-way between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans the international boundary between the United States and the British North American Possessions is cut by a stream, which, to distinguish it from another of the same name flowing into the Gulf of Mexico in the south of the Continent, is called the "Red River of the North."

It rises in the United States of America, and, running northwards, enters the British territories at Pembina, whence it continues its course more than one hundred miles further, finally losing its waters in Lake Winnipeg.

It is joined by many tributaries, the most considerable of which, named the Assiniboine, flows from the West and falls into it about forty miles south from its mouth at the Lake.

At the junction of these two rivers stands Fort Garry, now the principal station in the territory of Rupert's Land occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company. From this Fort, as a centre, a civilized settlement of Europeans and others has been extended along the banks of these lonely streams, which, since its commencement early in the present century, has gradually increased to a length of sixty miles along the Assiniboine, and fifty miles along the Red River. The houses in no place extend back from the rivers, proximity to which has hitherto formed the sole reliance of the inhabitants for their water supply. For municipal purposes

the legal boundary of the colony has been defined as the circumference of a circle the centre of which is Fort Garry, and the diameter one hundred miles. The history, present condition and recent current events of this municipality form the subject of this book.

In dealing with Indian names the writer of a book of adventure in savage countries can seldom hope to convey the proper sound of the words to the intelligence of his reader. Where possible all such stumbling blocks have been systematically avoided in the present work. The legally authorized designation of the municipal district it was, however, necessary frequently to use, and I have adopted the usual orthography of the word Assiniboia, although the original mode of spelling it as Osnaboya conveys the correct sound with much greater exactitude. The reason of the change I do not know. With this exception I hope no difficulty will rise about the pronunciation.

The first five chapters in the volume describe the scenes on the voyage between Liverpool and Fort Garry, including the remarkable features of Prairie travel. The succeeding three chapters describe the origin, history, and local laws of the colony. Chapter IX consists of a narrative of the history of the Protestant Church in Red River, and Chapter X describes the history and position of the Roman Catholic Church in Rupert's Land. The three following chapters refer to the later history and local peculiarities of annual and daily life in the colony. The remainder of the work contains an account of public events as they have occurred since my arrival in the country in 1861.

The nature of the contents, more especially of the latter part of the book, has rendered a systematic adherence to certain fixed regulations, in the choice and treatment of subjects, an imperative necessity.

The grand fundamental rule I have followed has been to tell the unvarnished truth, without permitting private feeling to interfere in any matter I have felt it my duty to record.

With regard to the selection of subjects, while avoiding anything of a private nature, the publication of which would give reasonable pain to any one, I have omitted nothing bearing on the public history of the colony, and have considered myself entitled to record anything which has engaged the attention of the Courts of Law, though selecting such cases only as, from the public interest they have evoked or the disorders of which they have been the occasion in the community, have recommended themselves as fit subjects for a narrative such as mine.

Where it has been my unpleasant duty to record actions discreditable to their authors, I have endeavoured to do so without omitting any essential detail on the one hand, and without indulging in any superfluous observations of my own on the other.

I have carefully consulted authorities on every point on which doubt rested on my own mind. To documents connected with the government I have had constant recourse. These were either in my own hands or in those of the Sheriff or Clerk of Court. The chapter on the Protestant Church, so far as it concerns the Church of England, has been inspected by the Bishop of Rupert's Land, who very kindly supplied much of the information contained in it and verified figures and dates by comparison with official documents in his possession. My original draft of this part of the book was compiled from information obtained from Mr. William Robert Smith, whose long connection with Church and State in the colony has been described in Chapter XV.

The article on the Roman Catholic Church is a condensed sketch of the contents of the book written on the subject of which it treats by the Bishop of St. Boniface, whom I have to thank

for the use of treatises throwing strong light on the state of the country when a settled population first came to reside at Red River in 1812, and which have been more especially serviceable in framing part of the Appendix.

All the parish clergymen in the settlement have zealously assisted, when requested, in supplying information connected with their several districts. The result of the combined efforts thus indicated is the volume now completed. Its fidelity to the truth has been acknowledged by all private friends to whom I have shown it in whole or in part. My reason for insisting on this is based on the circumstance that gross perversions of truth relating to facts occupying positions of conspicuous importance in the book have been circulated in the Canadian papers, which have accepted with blind confidence the interested assertions of the single newspaper of the Colony, the "Nor' Wester."

J. J. HARGRAVE.

FORT GARRY, RED RIVER,  
*27th March, 1869.*

# RED RIVER.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE OCEAN VOYAGE.

The Mersey—First evening on board the Hibernian—Queen's Birth-day—Off Moville—The Atlantic—Sea-sickness—Passengers—Daily Routine—Scenes on board—Ice—Straits of Belle Isle—Father Point—The St. Lawrence—Quebec.

ON the afternoon of Thursday, the twenty-third day of May, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, the Montreal Ocean Steam Ship Company's Mail Steamer "Hibernian," Captain Grange, started from the Mersey on her way to Montreal. It was her first voyage, and as on the preceding week she had broken down, through some defect in her machinery, before leaving the Mersey, the confidence of passengers on the occasion in question in her sea-going capabilities lacked confirmation.

When the usual scene of bustle consequent on the embarkation of passengers had subsided into one of comparative order, and the travellers, along with their formidable array of baggage, had been conveyed on board a small tender from the great Liverpool landing stage to the steamer, riding on the waters of the Mersey, a tremulous, rumbling motion underfoot gave evidence that the screw was at work and the ocean journey had been commenced.

The huge pile of boxes and travelling apparatus of all kinds and sizes, without which a company of travelling Englishmen of the present age apparently consider it inexpedient to face the perils of the deep, or the adventures of the road, having been hurriedly identified by its individual proprietors, and lodged with surprising

alacrity in the dark depths of the vessel's hold, the good company destined to spend the ensuing ten or twelve days in each other's society, after visiting their respective state-rooms, sat down to dinner in the grand saloon.

After dinner a general movement took place towards the deck, and, although the evening was damp, foggy and cheerless, a fair number of the gentlemen present, ignoring its discomforts, lit their pipes and cigars, and, muffled in the snug depths of overcoats and Scotch plaids, marched resolutely up and down, watching the fast receding coast-line as it lay low and dimly visible through the heavy, murky atmosphere.

The vessel had already cleared the Mersey, and the open sea stretched away before her. The great buoys, which mark the channel, floated lonely and well defined far out into the waters. The dull silence was broken only by the murmuring wave, the hoarse rattle and splash of the steamer's screw, or an occasional remark from some of the promenaders.

After tea the sky cleared up, and the stars appeared. Walking forward to the fore-castle, the scene from the vessel's bow was, to a landsman, really fine. The waste of waters, dimly seen, heaving black in the starlight, bounded by a horizon of night, gave rise to a feeling of isolation, relieved by the refreshing sensation produced by the vessel's rapid rush through the chilly air, and the sharp hissing sound of the prow vigorously cutting the waves far below, fell distinctly on the ear. A few yards behind, groups of steerage passengers moving about, and scattered parties with dark lanterns bustling to and fro in an unsettled manner, lent a living interest to the scene. On our way back from the fore-castle to the quarter-deck, myself and a fellow-passenger, whose acquaintance I had already made, and who had accompanied me on my tour of observation to the front, were accosted by one of those parties, who demanded from us a pot of liquor, which they appeared to consider due them by each trespasser on their domains.

At eleven o'clock all lights on board ship were extinguished, and as those in the state-rooms were so arranged as to be beyond the control of the occupants, gentlemen who disliked to "turn in" in the dark retired betimes. The beauty of the night, however, tempted



several to delay going below on this occasion till an early hour in the morning.

Friday, the 24th, was her Majesty's birthday, but, although the fact was certainly borne in mind, I do not recollect that we held any celebration. All day the water was smooth, and a fair wind gave promise of continued good weather. Those who wished to write their letters were enabled to do so, while such as had nothing better to do paraded the deck, and watched through their telescopes the passing shores of Kintyre and Ireland on either hand.

In the course of the afternoon we arrived off Merville, a small town in the north of Ireland, near the mouth of Loch Foyle, where the mails were received, and the last letters sent ashore. A period of two hours having elapsed, two farewell guns were fired from the vessel, which forthwith started on her voyage. Shortly after it was discovered that a party who had come on board to bid some friends farewell, having neglected or misunderstood the signals warning visitors to leave the vessel, was being carried away oceanwards against their inclination. Fortunately a small fishing boat was within hail, and after a compulsory trip of a few miles, the supernumeraries were put on shore.

On this day the table had been fully attended at every meal, and some passengers unaccustomed to sea life congratulated themselves on having passed the stormy Irish sea without experience of the horrors of sea sickness, arguing from such premises that their whole voyage would be completed without any trouble from this source.

The expectation so fondly indulged was on the ensuing morning rudely disappointed, for head winds began to blow, the sea rose, and all our passengers, save four or five, of whom I have reason to be thankful that I was one, were hopelessly prostrated. But few made their appearance at breakfast: indeed the completion of the toilet was of itself a matter of considerable difficulty, the unfortunate experimenter being pitched about from side to side, and end to end of his state-room, not a moment's rest being allowed him to balance himself how he would. Under these circumstances shaving was, of course, out of the question, and very rough customers some of our friends looked in consequence before we reached the smooth

American waters. Patrons of the beard and moustache movements of course smiled at this inconvenience.

Of the few who contrived to get through the morning, several succumbed to the force of circumstances during the forenoon. In vain the captain and officers assured the sufferers if they would only find something to do and go about it in the usual way, unmindful of sea or weather, all would be well. Very few were in a state to comply with the advice, although it was probably the best which could have been given, seeing even the slight employment afforded by a persevering walk up and down the rolling deck was found a welcome preventive by one or two who tried it.

The appearance presented by the sick was painful to behold; ladies and gentlemen lay senseless here and there covered up with plaids or tarpaulins, some securely fixed in sheltering nooks, others fallen from their seats, rolling freely up and down the quarter deck as the varying motions of the ship compelled them, fell no further, not in consequence of their ability to help themselves, but simply because the strong bulwarks prevented their tumbling overboard. When the state of matters was so bad in the better part of the vessel it may be imagined how the steerage passengers fared in their crowded and smaller quarters. A line running across the vessel amidships, barred communication between steerage and quarter-deck passengers, and I remember seeing one child of not much more than infant years, whose parents were supposed to be lying senseless in some remote corner of the vessel, rolling up and down among buckets and cooking utensils until a charitable hand drew it across the line into the select part of the ship.

A young man attached to the engineer's department made his first sea voyage on this occasion, and lay hopelessly sea-sick in the vicinity of the funnel or "smokestack" during the whole voyage, careless alike of the duties of his situation, the chaff of his friends, or the contemptuous pity of certain passengers, who, having at length vanquished their own squeamishness, felt bound to pity him. Poor fellow! the heat and odours of the engine room proved too much for him all the way out.

For the first day or two passengers unknown to each other

maintained the usual English reserve, but, as sea-sickness wore off and men began to look about them, this ceased, and many social knots might be seen at all hours scattered about the deck engaged in conversation and argument.

Our passenger list was not large. Among the more prominent names upon it were those of the colonel going out to take command of one of the Canadian Garrisons, a major, an ex-captain of Hussars, and a gentleman of the Long Robe, who was making a tour to Canada with the intention, I believe, of returning to England in a few weeks by the United States. There were also several very clever and agreeable American gentlemen going home to the South, and a somewhat caustic and boastful Canadian doctor of medicine.

We breakfasted at 8.30 a.m., took luncheon at noon, dined at 4 p.m., and drank tea at 7 o'clock. Any one who wished it could procure supper by ordering it before 10 o'clock. The commissariat department was conducted on the most approved principles, and the distinguished success achieved in all arrangements connected with this part of the ship's management reflected credit on all concerned. To discourage smuggling, wines and cigars were provided on board at extremely low prices and of excellent quality.

Meals formed, of course, the main events of those days at sea. Attempts were made to organise amusements of various kinds, but although the ship's officials, of whom I beg here to state that all without exception were entitled to high praise for their courtesy and kindness towards passengers, used great efforts to give them an impetus, they failed. The chief scheme of which I have now any recollection was one for the formation of a court of justice, before which all who had been "absent from table without leave" should be summoned and tried. The principal difficulty in realising this bright idea lay in making a choice of culprits in consequence of the tables having been for several days almost totally deserted for reasons already given. It was also a scheme, the successful prosecution of which required some forensic ability, which we lacked. We had much argument, however, not unaccompanied sometimes with considerable acrimony. For this there

existed some room in the discussion of Union States rights, the Galway Packet subsidy, the Essays and Reviews, and similar subjects. There was also a warm controversy one day with reference to an Irish "*cause celebre*" which had shortly before that time engaged the attention of a Court of Law, and in which it had become known that the legal gentleman of our party had been engaged in a subordinate capacity. This gentleman had expressed an opinion on some point of the case within hearing of the caustic medical man above alluded to, who retorted warmly that he had conceived himself entitled from his private knowledge of parties concerned to contradict the opinion just pronounced, and rebuked the speaker for the tone of authority in which he had stated it. In this view of the matter the ex-hussar joined him, and the barrister found himself matched against two. In his arguments with the soldier, however, he usually, as might be expected, prevailed, to the great discomposure of the latter, who with quizzing glass screwed under his eyebrow, and face twisted in a manner which in absence of long practice ought to have been painful, attempted to stare his stolid adversary out of countenance.

The principal displays of this description took place in the evening when the majority of passengers had assembled round the "smokestack" to enjoy their pipes and cigars after tea, although minor conflicts were wont to take place in the saloon after meals. On the latter occasions the ladies, and the more staid among the gentlemen, withdrew to the side seats, and glancing over the volumes held in their hands, watched the progress of the debate from a safe distance, while the more eager partisans remained along with the champions to whom they adhered, and encouraged them by voice and gesture with all the authority they could bring to bear upon the subject treated of. The "asides" on these occasions were also sometimes good.

"I back the doctor—he is right," said one.

"No, oh no! the poor man is groping in the dark; he cannot see when he makes a point—but the lawyer is a very clever and sharp fellow," said another, adding to the hussar, "Go it, captain, you have him there; *keep* him—ha! ha! ha!" and altogether a

good deal of amusement and hilarity resulted from such encounters during the trip.

Every hour the speed of the vessel was ascertained by the log ; and although the general run of the steamers on this line is very perfectly defined, once a day an observation with the sextant was taken to define our exact position. The results of these operations formed the staple article of our news, anxiously waited for and passed from man to man when made known, during our voyage across the Atlantic, in the course of which, though ever on the lookout, we saw no vessel save our own.

A small library kept in the steamer's saloon, from which books were issued to all applicants at a stated hour each day, proved also a source of welcome pastime.

On the first Sunday of our voyage the amount of sea-sickness on board had reached its maximum ; but on the second all had recovered sufficiently to celebrate Divine Service, which was held in the saloon, the doctor of the ship officiating in absence of a regular clergyman. The doctor acquitted himself in this matter as well as could be reasonably desired, supported as he was in the responses by the military gentlemen and some others of advanced years, who, stationed close to the celebrant at the head of the principal table, repeated their portion of the service with such vehemence of utterance as almost to drown the voices of the head steward and his staff of assistants, who had been posted in a less advantageous position, with a view to acting as the recognized choir. The only *contresens* worth mentioning, however, occurred in singing the concluding hymn, which happened to be the hundredth psalm, and which the doctor had omitted to read. This canticle was accordingly sung by a large portion of the company according to the Presbyterian version, and by the remainder according to that found in the Church prayer-book. The consequence was a confusion of words and sounds, which threatened a general break-down, a result averted only by a man from Glasgow, one of the assistant stewards, opportunely and boldly stepping forth into the centre of the saloon, and, favored by a powerful voice, shouting out so as to drown the feeble efforts of his principal and others, leading the followers of his own version to a successful conclusion.

On approaching the American coast we came upon fields of floating ice, interspersed with isolated icebergs. Considerable interest had been awakened in prospect thereof, and betting men had an opportunity of calculating the odds against the various times at which we were likely to meet it. We did so at last, and hailed it as the first harbinger of land. At first we passed only small pieces, scattered at intervals along our course; but the number of these gradually increased, and at length we found ourselves in presence of such enormous quantities that it was apprehended we would be driven a day's run out of our course. Most fortunately our fears were disappointed, and a channel opened up before us, through which we passed, running very slowly for a whole night; but in the morning we were once more in open water. The high banks of Newfoundland and Labrador stood forth in bold cliffs, and away toward the bleak North stretched the inhospitable shores and the ice-encumbered waters of Davis' Straits.

We passed through the Straits of Belle Isle, separating Newfoundland from Labrador, the scene of many accidents resulting from the difficulty of navigation. The sleepless exertions of the ship's officers and men brought us safely through, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence hourly widened around. The low-lying barren shore of Anticosti ran past on our left, and on the afternoon of Tuesday, 4th June, we reached Father Point, where the pilot, whose duty it became to steer our vessel up the St. Lawrence, came on board with newspapers anxiously expected, more especially by the Americans among us, whose anxiety to receive intelligence about the opening civil war was naturally great.

The banks of the St. Lawrence looked well, rising in mountainous irregularity on either hand. Scattered villages and small towns of wooden houses lay along the coast, much frequented by tourists during the heats of summer. Several large tributaries flow into the St. Lawrence in the lower part of her course, and very beautiful their great deep valleys looked as we rapidly steamed by their mouths, passing and overtaking many other vessels, both sailing and steam, going up and down the river.

On this, the last evening of our voyage, there took place, of course, a general re-union round the "smokestack" of the now

familiar friends of the past fortnight, whose ways for one night more were to be the same, and who next day were to scatter to meet no more. Those of the company on whose further course the mists of uncertainty lay thickest were three young gentlemen going home to the Southern States after the completion of a European tour, and who feared, not perhaps without reason, detention or ill-usage in passing through the North. The other passengers were delighted either with the expectation of the novelties they were about to witness, or the near prospect of returning to their homes. We sat together till the last light of a beautiful and mild evening was gone, and retired.

On waking up early next morning, we saw close under the port-holes the wharf of Point Levi, and at a little distance the railway station, bearing the inscription, "Grand Trunk Railway," in large letters, placarded on one of the sheds. On deck all was animation; friends come to welcome new arrivals, porters running about with their burdens, the crew and agents of the ship jostled busily about.

Point Levi is a small port, the terminus of the Grand Trunk Railway, lying on the south side of the St. Lawrence, directly opposite Quebec. The latter town is situated on the north shore of the river, and is distinctly seen with its fortifications towering high over it on the Heights of Abraham. These names are familiar to the reader of history, in connection with the events in which the celebrated General Wolfe lost his life. The St. Lawrence at this point is about two miles in breadth.

Our voyage had been an unusually long one, owing to the contrary winds we had encountered, and the day we had passed slowly slipping through the ice-fields. Leaving Liverpool on the afternoon of the 23rd May, and arriving at Quebec on the morning of the 5th June, we had taken more than twelve days to make the trip. This being also the first voyage completed by our steamer, it was believed the circumstance might be calculated to injure her in the public eye. As far as possible to counteract this effect, a paper was drawn up and signed by the cabin passengers containing an address to Captain Grange, in which mention was made of the high satisfaction of all with the treatment they had

experienced on board his vessel, as well as their conviction that the unusual length of the passage was due neither to any defect in the vessel nor shortcoming on his part, or that of any of his subordinates, but simply to stress of weather.

After an early breakfast had been dispatched, the business of disembarkation commenced, and each man found full employment for his time in watching and identifying the different items of his luggage, as piece by piece it was extracted from the abysses below, in which it had been stowed during the voyage. There was necessarily some confusion, as passengers unaccustomed to such scenes bustled about with porters at their heels, dragging heavy trunks and boxes of all shapes and sizes from one part of the vessel to another; but as the arrangements made by the people in authority were very complete, the amount of inconvenience caused was less than might have been expected.

In the course of the forenoon I found all my luggage collected, and my business on board being accomplished, along with the majority of my fellow-passengers, I bade adieu to the "Hibernian" and stepped ashore on "the New World."



## CHAPTER II.

Custom house—American travelling arrangements—Grand Trunk Railway—Victoria Tubular Bridge—Montreal—General Election—Toronto—Sleeping Cars—United States frontier at Port Huron—Michigan Central Railroad—Chicago—Chicago and North Western Railroad—Lacrosse—Mississippi Steamer—Adventure of passenger from New York—United States Volunteers—Scenery of “Hiawatha”—St. Paul.

OUR first duty on landing was to pass the custom-house, a work sometimes attended with inconvenience. On this occasion it was tedious from the number of candidates, but it ended at last, and I had the satisfaction of seeing on each of my boxes a label bearing the royal arms, and other inscriptions, the practical signification of which was that I was free to proceed with them on my journey.

A special train in connection with the Atlantic steamers ran the whole length of the Grand Trunk line, and passengers had the option of continuing their journey up stream to Montreal, in the steamer or going by this train. As about eighteen hours would be gained by the latter course, the majority of passengers availed themselves of it.

On entering the station we found our train in readiness, but were informed that an accident, which had occurred on our track, would prevent it starting for some hours.

The American railroad arrangements we were prepared to find somewhat different from those which obtained in Europe. To each of our pieces of luggage, a leaden medal or “check” was attached by a leather thong, duplicate of which check was delivered to us and constituted our receipt for luggage it represented, for the safe return of which the Railway Company was responsible. The production by any one of his check entitled him to the immediate delivery of his luggage, but should he lose the former,

his application for the latter would be refused. Lucky in such case would he be had no one found his check and demanded his luggage, in which case he would have to take what steps he could to obtain its recovery. This system gives a man the feeling he is ever travelling with his effects in his pocket, but on the long railway journeys of America, it works satisfactorily.

The extremely low rate of fares charged on the Grand Trunk Railroad, we found in bold contrast to that on all English lines, and this favorable comparison holds good on all the American railroads on which I have since travelled. The different kinds of money in use tended at first to confuse the mind accustomed to deal only with sterling currency. There were dollars and cents, dimes and yorkers, pounds sterling and pounds Halifax currency. To all these it required experience to reconcile a stranger, but after a little time had elapsed I was enabled to calculate with ease. For the benefit of those who have not enjoyed the same experience, I may mention a dollar is worth between 4s. and 4s. 2d. sterling; a cent, about an English half-penny; a dime, ten cents, a yorker or York shilling, an English sixpence, and a pound Halifax currency, about sixteen shillings, four dollars, or four-fifths of a pound sterling.

In consequence of the above-mentioned accident we were detained at Point Levi station till three o'clock in the afternoon. The time thus placed at our disposal we spent walking up and down in the vicinity of the station, and looking about us. As nothing of special interest existed nearer than Quebec, which lay on the other side of the river, and as some of the steerage passengers, who had used the interval of idleness offered them by the delay to imbibe rather freely the various stimulating beverages exposed for sale at the bar of the hotel, were beginning to exhibit unequivocal symptoms of too free indulgence, we were very glad when the welcome signal of departure was rung, and we started on our further journey.

The American railway carriage is not divided into compartments as is usual in England, but consists of one large chamber with a door at each extremity, and a clear passage along the centre from door to door. On each side of the passage is a row of seats, each

seat wide enough to accommodate two persons, who, by an arrangement whereby the back of the seat is reversible, may sit with either their face or back to the engine. The carriages are well lighted by numerous windows, which, with alternate mirrors, occupy their entire length on both sides. Entrance and exit are facilitated by exterior platforms and side steps at each door, and communication is open between every car in the train throughout the journey.

The grand objection to this kind of carriage lies in the amount of dust which penetrates through so many windows and doors as it contains, but its conveniences appear in the judgment of those concerned to counterbalance this evil, for, so far as I can learn, its adoption is universal in America.

Our special train consisted of first and second class carriages, in the former of which journeyed the cabin and in the latter the steerage passengers. In a comfortable seat close by the rear door of our carriage, which was the last in the train, was seated the conductor, a very important personage, who was good enough to point out to us the objects of local interest, as we steamed past them. These were not numerous on the lower stages of the line. Here and there we passed villages and observed railway crossings, the placards situated over which, by their duplicate inscriptions in English and French, gave us to understand we were travelling through the settlements of a mixed population.

The Grand Trunk Railroad is constructed on the broad gauge principle, and the speed to be attained on it is considerable. The slopes on either side of the track are not of course dressed or laid out so neatly as is usual on English railways; on the contrary the cuttings and embankments remain rough and undressed, as left by the pick-axes of the navigators, who pioneered the way. Between Quebec and Montreal, the route plunges through primeval woods, but at intervals along its course small villages and embryo towns were to be seen rising from amid surrounding clearings. The houses were all constructed of wood.

We halted for a late dinner at Richmond, the junction of the two great branches of the Grand Trunk Line, from Point Levi on the St. Lawrence and Portland on the Atlantic Ocean, respectively

the summer and winter ports used by the Canadian steamers. The sun was setting among the woods when we left this place, and though we stopped only at the principal points, it was nine o'clock before the train reached the open country and fenced fields which evidenced our approach to a considerable city. About this time our patience was a good deal tried by our train being run off the main line upon a "siding" to permit the passage of another coming from the opposite direction. For half an hour on, thereby, we were left to meditate on the disadvantages of single-lined railways, and listen to the "National Anthem of Canada," as some facetious individual called the united croaking of some myriads of frogs in the neighbouring swamps.

At last the much desired train rushed past, and we proceeded. The lights of the city became visible in the distance, and our friend, the conductor, intimated we should soon be at the Victoria Tubular Bridge, on which we were to cross to the northern shore of the St. Lawrence. At this information every one started to his feet and sought the parts of the train whence the best view could be obtained. Soon the entering arch was passed, and for a few seconds the space overhead remained clear as we ran along the abutments of the bridge. Suddenly a loud, hollow rumbling sound started from under foot, the space round the carriage was contracted, and we were in the tunnel. Our speed relaxed, and, as we slowly ran, we had ample opportunity to admire the massive iron ribs and plating of the structure, dimly seen in the faint light reflected from the carriage lamps. The length of the tube is about a mile and a half, and while passing along it the exterior platform of the carriage was crowded with curious passengers, who withdrew inside as the rumbling sound ceased, and we were once more on the firm ground forming the northern approach to the bridge. The entering arch flew past us, and we found ourselves, after the lapse of a few minutes, at a stand-still within the large and commodious station of Montreal.

The principal hotels in town were here represented by agents who eagerly canvassed for the patronage of the new arrivals. "Try the Metropolitan—the Ottawa—the St. Lawrence Hall!" was heard on all hands. An omnibus in waiting, connected with the latter-named establishment, conveyed myself and such of my fellow-

travellers as proposed passing a day or two in Montreal, to the hotel. The St. Lawrence Hall is an immense building capable of accommodating several hundreds of guests, and is conducted on the American system. We found its public rooms brilliantly lighted, and a crowd of people seated in lounging chairs under the front portico, reading the newspapers and smoking in the cool evening air.

The next day I had an opportunity of seeing the sights of the city. Of these the most famous is, of course, the Victoria Bridge. Its fame must, however, rely more upon the enormous difficulties surmounted in its construction than on the appearance presented by its exterior; although it may be very well imagined that an iron tunnel, a mile and a half in length, borne upon vast granite piers, rising one hundred feet above the level of one of the mightiest rivers in the world, presents a spectacle well calculated to convey to the mind an impression of solid grandeur and gigantic compass.

In architecture the Roman Catholic Parish Church is a fine building, and the view of the city and its neighbourhood, obtainable from the summit of one of its two lofty towers, is, to an energetic admirer of bird's eye views, a fair recompense both for the exertion necessary in effecting the ascent, and the shilling levied for the permission to climb. The interior of the church is also good, being large and lofty, with sufficient accommodation for a large retinue of priests in celebrations of importance. St. Patrick's church is also a fine one, belonging to the same religious sect. In it I witnessed the confirmation of a large number of children of both sexes, by Bishop Bourget, of Montreal.

The Anglican Cathedral of Christ Church is said by judges of ecclesiastical architecture to be one of the finest churches in America. It has been feared, however, that the foundation is defective, and its acoustic properties are certainly imperfect.

The hill rising behind Montreal, called "the Mountain," forms an important item among the attractions of the city. It is compassed by a very good road running round its base, forming a much frequented drive. From the elevated part of the mountain, on which many suburban residences have been built by the wealthy merchants of Montreal, a fine view of the city and neighbourhood

may be had, as it lies sloping towards the St. Lawrence, with its spires, warehouses, streets, squares and docks, and great Victoria Bridge stretching out towards the further shore, with ships sailing under its wide-spanned tube.

Remotely situate towards the part of the mountain most distant from Montreal is the establishment of Monklands, being the former residence of Lord Elgin, and other Governors General of Canada, previous to the removal of the seat of Government from Montreal.

The harbour of Montreal is good, and its docks and stone wharves are substantially built and commodious. The city abounds with fine churches belonging to all denominations. There are also colleges, nunneries, hospitals and banks, all with more or less architectural pretensions.

One theatre exists in town, but I did not understand it to be a very decided success. On the occasion of my visit it was occupied by a company of operatic singers. The walls, moreover, bore large placards announcing that, on the following week, "Professor Anderson, the great Wizard of the North," would visit the city, for eight nights only, during which he would perform his unrivalled feats of natural magic and legerdemain." Unless his performances drew fuller houses than did the efforts of the operatic company on the evening I witnessed them, I fear the Wizard's visit must have turned out but a poor speculation.

Early in the month of July a general election was held in Canada, and on the first day of that month, while travelling westward, I had an opportunity of seeing some of the bustle thereon attendant. The language of partizanship, both in private conversation and public journalism, was strong and bitter, and it was a relief to get free from it, especially as the main centres of excitement lay on the route of the Grand Trunk Railway, on which I travelled with many eager voters, connected with all parties, as fellow travellers in the same train with myself. The fact that rigid abstemiousness was not a characteristic of a large section of these people tended to render their neighbourhood still less desirable.

On the evening of 1st July I passed Toronto. Travelling during the night, we exchanged our regular day carriages for others, the interior furnishings of which were so constructed that,

with wonderfully little trouble, the series of seats could be turned into rows of sofas or cushioned benches, serving the purposes of beds. Curtains, blankets and pillows, which during the day had been stowed away in their boxes, were brought out and so utilized that considerable comfort and privacy were obtainable. These carriages, commonly called "sleeping cars," are of great service in the course of long journeys, continued by day and night sometimes for nearly a week. The result of the ingenuity with which every piece is dove-tailed into its neighbour, so that the ordinary car of the day becomes the dormitory of its occupants during the night, must be seen to be adequately appreciated. The same number of passengers can, I believe, be accommodated in each carriage under the night arrangements as under those of the day. Sufficient attendance is provided to secure passengers, who desire to be roused at any spot during the night, against the risk of being carried past their destination.

Leaving Toronto at eleven o'clock at night, we reached the Canadian frontier port of Sarnia at five in the morning. Here we quitted the railway and crossed the St. Clair river close to its mouth, at the southern extremity of Lake Huron, in a steamboat, landing on the United States frontier at Port Huron. The passage occupied only a few minutes, during which we had to satisfy the United States custom-house officer as to our luggage. Luckily, the official was civil and did not exact too much, permitting me to pass without trouble. After breakfast at Port Huron we continued our journey to Detroit, where we arrived after a run of about two hours, and thence proceeded by the Michigan Central Railroad to Chicago, which we reached at eight o'clock in the evening.

The Michigan Central is said to be one of the best railways in the United States. The carriages were well appointed, and everything about them in good repair, the permanent way smooth, and the embankments well dressed.

Nearing Lake Michigan the rolling prairie opened out before us, and at length we reached the lake itself and ran along its shore. Some miles from Chicago we caught sight of its towers, chimneys and steeples, and passed a network of telegraph wires and railway

tracks converging from different quarters. The great number of vessels spread over the lake, going to and from the city, would of themselves have indicated it as a remarkable place; but the wondrous prosperity and sudden rise from the heart of a wilderness into first-rate importance of the town itself, are so well known that the evidences of a thriving city were looked for, and consequently did not strike with surprise.

Having remained one day in Chicago, at eight o'clock on the evening of the 3rd July I started onwards by the Chicago and North Western Railway to Lacrosse. At midnight we changed carriages at Watertown junction, and at eight o'clock on the morning of the 4th July reached Lacrosse, a small town on the Mississippi, then the extreme limit of railway travelling towards the West.

The distance thence to Saint Paul, of about 160 miles, was travelled by steamboat. I found the vessel waiting; but, as it would not sail till evening, I had the whole day to look around me. Being the 4th of July, there was much holiday-making. Excursion steamers, sailing heavy laden with the multitude of their passengers, went out in the morning and returned at the close of day, while all day long scattered shots from small field-pieces wakened the echoes on the swampy shore.

The steamer's crew did not certainly join in the general merriment, being, on the contrary, engaged all day in the matter-of-fact employment of unshipping from the vessel her cargo of sacks full of grain, an article exported down the Mississippi in vast quantities from the agricultural States of Minnesota and Wisconsin, on its way to Chicago, the great grain depot of the West.

The American river steamers, though much admired by some people, and thoroughly adapted to the shallow waters on which they ply, to me seemed clumsy and uncouth in their huge white-washed bulk. They are composed of a hull, the gunwale of which reaches some three or four feet above the water's edge, and the deck of which is occupied by cargo, engine and machinery. Raised above this lower deck, and supported by strong framework, is the passenger deck, occupied by the main saloon, and the staterooms opening immediately off it. Above the roof of this structure towers



the wheel or pilot's house, perched in which, from his surpassing elevation, the man at the wheel commands an unobstructed view a long way ahead over the vessel's course.

About nine o'clock we left Lacrosse and steamed up the Mississippi, a very tortuous river, even at this considerable distance from its source in the wilderness of Minnesota. The evening was lowering, and constant flashes of sheet lightning played among the heavy thunder-clouds. The night had become quite dark before we reached the first stopping place at which we were to take in wood. The vast quantity of fuel consumed on board the river steamers renders it necessary to have a great supply cut and piled in convenient localities on their route; and as the peculiar build of these boats enables them to run at a loaded draft of only three or four feet, they have only to be run along shore close to the bank, where they receive the fuel placed in readiness for them. At night the scene presented by the groups of workmen wooding the vessel, while the glare of torches, braziers and flambeaux lights up the dark vistas among the woods, is striking.

A violent thunderstorm during the night cleared the heavens for a fine morning. At this stage we had quite an excitement on board, in consequence of a complaint lodged by an elderly countryman, of unsophisticated appearance, hailing from the neighbourhood of New York, who was then making a tour in the West, that his stateroom had been entered during the night and the greater part of his money stolen. It was at first supposed the thief had quitted the steamer during the night at some of the villages where she had stopped, but further investigation proved this was not the case. He was found still on board with the stolen property in his possession, and turned out to be a quiet, weakly-looking man, with pale features and sad voice, who had entertained a knot of passengers overnight, his victim being one among his hearers, and in more than one sense a most interested auditor, with some amusing stories of the doings of the thieving population in the States, illustrative chiefly of the expertness attainable by members of the pocket-picking branch of the profession. A clue to his identification as the culprit had been found from information supplied by the purser, whose suspicions had been raised by noticing the man moving about the vessel at a late hour on the night of the robbery.

The victim, satisfied with regaining his property, the loss of which would have subjected him to grave inconvenience at that distance from home, and a good deal softened by the recital of a moving story of suffering which the unfortunate culprit made to him, declined to carry the matter any further, and the prisoner, after being detained the greater part of the day bound in a very uncomfortable manner, in a conspicuous position close to the wheel-house, over the saloon, and exposed to the rays of a blazing July sun, was, at his intercession, put ashore.

A regiment of the United States Volunteer army, then newly raised, accompanied us on their way to relieve one belonging to the regular army quartered at a Western post, whose services were required in the sharp work then just commencing with the South. The officers and men connected with this volunteer detachment seemed to have alike belonged to the class of operatives: they were intelligent men, but apparently undrilled and ignorant of the details of military duty. Their Union sentiment was, of course, very strong. In this feeling all the passengers with whom I conversed quite coincided.

"If my own brother were a Rebel I would shoot him without hesitation," remarked one gentleman, and even the victim of the above recorded robbery found time amid his pursuits of a more personal nature to remark that he "was sorry to observe England did not appear to show us that hearty cordiality he could wish to see exhibited by her."

The country through which we passed is celebrated as the scene of the action of Mr. Longfellow's poem of "Hiawatha." It has, however, gained some features which it did not possess in the times to which that work refers. The natural outlines are still the same. High banks crop out on either hand, indenting, with their promontories, bays on the opposite sides of the tortuous stream, presenting the appearance of terraces of hills stretching far away before and behind the traveller, and in few parts is the course of the stream visible far ahead. On the less precipitous banks trees grow down to the water's edge, and on one hand a high wooded cliff juts forth to meet a low sedgy bank upon the other.

The wigwam of the Indian is now, however, gone. It is re-

placed by the dwellings of the invading race. There are numerous villages and large towns scattered along the river's banks, with their wooden wharves, Swiss cottages, more pretentious Greek style of private residences, and kitchen gardens. Barn-like hotels, with staring placards, and court houses with cupolas, stand conspicuously forth. The staple building material is wood, but red brick mansions, with white doors and windows, brick and stone stores and steeples are visible in considerable numbers. The towns generally seemed irregularly built, stretching away behind their levees or river landing places, and backed with wooded bluffs.

A considerable distance below Saint Paul the Mississippi widens out into a broad lake called Lake Pepin, a short distance above the northern extremity of which that city, the capital of Minnesota, is situated.

On nearing it our fellow-travellers, the volunteers, had commenced their preparations for disembarking, in the course of which they ascertained the unwelcome fact that the local bank-notes in their possession, although perfectly negotiable at the place whence they came, were useless in Minnesota. As may be imagined, the poor fellows were much chagrined at the intelligence, and stigmatized their banking system as being bad. The great number of forged and worthless notes in circulation in the States rendered it absolutely necessary to exercise great caution in receiving money at the time of which I speak. Since that date, however, the notes of local banks have been practically displaced from the ordinary currency by the "greenbacks" or Government paper, which has certainly in this respect been of service to the State.

As we rounded the last promontory and came in sight of the beautiful and thriving city of Saint Paul, a gentleman on board who had amused himself a good deal during the day in perseveringly sustaining the cause of Union in my hearing, called my attention to the magnitude of its dominion, as exhibited by the fact that though then four days and nights continual travel by steam and rail from its Eastern boundary, we were yet only in the centre of its territories.

An omnibus, in waiting at the wharf to convey what guests the steamboat might offer it to the American Hotel, took me up and deposited me at that establishment without further adventure.

## CHAPTER III.

### ST. PAUL TO FORT ABERCROMBIE.

City of St. Paul—Red River Merchants—Trotting Match—President Lincoln's first Message—Stage Coach—Falls of Minnehaha—St. Anthony—Prairie travelling—Passengers—St. Cloud—Kandottah—Alexandria and its Woods and Roads—Pomme de Terre—Red River of the North—Fort Abercrombie.

SAINT PAUL, the capital of Minnesota, is the head of steam navigation on the Mississippi, whose waters, about twelve miles above the point at which it stands, are interrupted by the Falls of St. Anthony. At the time of which I write it might be said to form the most westerly point of civilized town life, although since then railroad enterprise has extended westward, and several embryo towns now flourish amid promising indications of prosperity.

On the evening of my arrival, I availed myself of the time at my disposal to see the lions of the place, the principal among which was a society of merchants from Red River Settlement, then present on one of their periodical visits to the city. I learned that the seasons at which these people were chiefly to be found in St. Paul were annually two in number—the months of June and September being the periods of their Spring and Autumn visits. The Spring trip is made so soon as the snow being cleared away from the surface of the plains, the roads are in a fit state for the passage of the two-wheeled carts used in the country, and the grass grown sufficiently long to furnish feeding for the animals; while the Fall trip is so timed that the return passage to Red River may be completed before the closing in of winter. The distance of plain travel from St. Paul to the settlement is from six hundred to six hundred and fifty miles.

The merchants in question I found to be quite a society among themselves, and their custom a recognized and valued institution in the city, where an animated competition was kept up for the furs they had to offer in exchange for goods, to be used in their coming year's trade in the West.

The principal hotel frequented by this community in 1861 was the Winnslow House, under the verandah of which I had the pleasure of an introduction to a large section of them as they sat in their American rocking-chairs smoking and reading the evening papers. Being on my way to their country, I was at once among friends, and passed a very pleasant evening in their society, talking over the probable duration of my trip, the state of the roads, and the various points of interest to a traveller.

My journey I found would be of a two-fold system of locomotion, the first part being passed in a stage coach and the second in a steamboat. The stage or express line of coaches ran between St. Paul and Georgetown, a post established by the Hudson's Bay Company on the upper waters of the Red River of the North. The express was conducted by Messrs. J. C. and H. C. Burbank & Company, a firm of St. Paul merchants who were under contract to carry the United States mail, which they did by means of these coaches. The steamboat running on the Red River between Georgetown and the settlement was the joint property of the Hudson's Bay Company and Messrs. Burbank, the latter being employed by the former as their freighting agents. The stage line, besides the purposes it served in carrying the mails, was much used by those traders who, not caring to travel by the slow conveyance of their own freight carts, the rate of progress of which was about twenty miles a day, took passage in its coaches, and by travellers of various kinds whose business or pleasure took them out westward.

Daily coaches ran between St. Paul and St. Cloud, a small village about eighty miles west from St. Paul, built on the Mississippi, the route between which places formed the first day's journey, while three times each week coaches starting from St. Cloud and Georgetown completed the chain of through communication. The total distance, between St. Paul and Georgetown, of more than three hundred miles, was easily traversible in five days; this was

accomplished by relays of horses stationed in postal establishments, situated at intervals, varying from fifteen to twenty-five miles in extent, along the route.

The day after my arrival I was driven a short distance out of town to witness a trotting match between two apparently well known horses. A very large attendance of spectators appeared on the ground to watch the event. The preparatory arrangements were certainly not of a first-class character. Some considerable difficulty was experienced in securing jockeys competent to ride, and those at length selected seemed the reverse of confident in their own skill. When at last the animals got away, carriages containing spectators, and all the equestrians on the ground, galloped on the course and followed in the wake of the trotters with much noise and confusion. When the match had been concluded, the most invigorating part of the adventure remained in the drive back to town, the entire road being covered with the hurrying multitude of vehicles and horses crowding on their way.

We noticed by the roadside a camp of travellers from the Red River country, their wooden carts fitted up in camp to serve as tents, constituting a vivid contrast to the many fine American equipages rolling past.

On the afternoon of Sunday, 7th June, much interest was excited in town in consequence of the receipt, by telegraph, and publication in the afternoon papers, of the first message delivered by President Lincoln to Congress, calling for 400,000 men and 400,000,000 dollars to be used in a vigorous prosecution of the war.

About three o'clock on the morning of Monday, 8th June, I stood at the door of the hotel, solitary save for the company of a yawning porter in charge of my luggage, waiting the arrival of the stage coach. At last it appeared in sight, lumbering slowly along over the steep irregular street. It was a capacious, comfortable old vehicle, constructed to contain nine inside and, I think, three outside passengers. It was drawn by four fine horses. Early as was the hour, I was not the first passenger it had received that morning, and on entering it I found two gentlemen already in possession of the choice seats, to which their timely precaution in

securing them at that early stage of the journey gave them a valid right good for the duration of whatever part of the five days' trip they should go. In journeys, such as the one on which I was about to enter, where travelling is done only during the day, the choice of seats is a slight matter. But the case is widely different when, as in the case of the stage route between Atchison, in Kansas, and Denver, in Colorado, the travelling is sustained over a space of 650 miles, by day and by night, for five or six days, passed in as swift locomotion as can be effected by the finest animals obtainable, relays of which are stationed at short intervals along the line. In such cases as this, the experienced traveller knows the value of the slight head support afforded by the stuffed back and sides of the conveyance, and the facilities thereby given to the attempt at procuring a broken slumber, as the coach jolts and tumbles its way along the rugged faggot road, on the more advanced stages of its course. Under these circumstances, the seat appropriated to each passenger is registered at the coach office when the passage money is paid.

The passengers whose names were on the "way-bill" having been all taken "on board," our vehicle turned its back on the city and proceeded towards the western plains. The road was merely a track following the slight undulations of the rolling prairie; but every stream along its route was bridged, and the thick "bush" was so cut down as to afford smooth transit to wheeled vehicles. We passed very near the famous Falls of Minnehaha, but I could not see them. About six o'clock we reached the hotel at St. Anthony, where we found breakfast prepared, at which meal we were joined by a large party of travellers, like ourselves, to the west, who had come from St. Paul the preceding day so as to avoid the early rising to which we had been subjected, and break the day's journey in curtailing it by twelve miles.

St. Anthony, I may mention, was a watering place and summer resort much frequented by St. Paul people, and strangers from the Southern States, who formerly came in great numbers to spend the warm season, so oppressively hot at home, in the comparatively cooler atmosphere of Minnesota.

Between 7 and 8 o'clock we were again on the road, which was through "bush," as the short, thick-tangled wooding of the country is commonly called. Now and then we passed through a scattered village of frail-looking houses, run up apparently in a very hurried manner for temporary use as shops, stores, hotels, or private dwelling houses. At intervals we stopped at halting places to change horses, and about two o'clock reached a house situated on the open plain, where a very acceptable dinner waited us. I have no particular recollection of the dishes on the occasion in question, and remember only that the entertainment generally was rather better than the ordinary bill of fare at roadside houses on the line. The staple dish generally consists of pork and beans, which may be said to be good when they *are* good, but sometimes article and cooking are alike bad. To this may be added various kinds of vegetables. Potatoes, throughout the whole districts of Minnesota and Wisconsin, so far as my knowledge and experience go, are not merely good, but admirable, the whole country being apparently remarkably well adapted, both in point of soil and climate, to their cultivation. Sometimes at the better class of "station-houses" a dish of good prate or beans is to be had. Sweets are almost invariably provided, and generally consist of stewed prunes or preserved apples. Molasses is in great demand. In point of drinkables, a beverage called tea is used at every meal, or in default thereof, another called coffee. Of these two drinks I am undecided which should be stigmatized as the worst or least resembling the pure article of which the name is degraded to identify it. Good sweet milk is, however, generally to be found in large quantities on the tables of these prairie taverns, and to the traveller whose taste is uneducated to the appreciation of the other luxuries, it is very welcome.

Our party occupied every available seat inside and outside the coach. Indeed the amount of passenger traffic at that time between St. Paul and St. Cloud was very considerable. The passengers of whom I retain the most vivid recollection were three in number: Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, a legal gentleman from Rochester, in the State of New York, was making a tour to Red River Settlement on a scientific mission; Mr. Parsons, another lawyer, was return



ing home to St. Cloud after a short visit to St. Paul, and Mr. Stanley, a commercial traveller from Chicago, was engaged in a journey to the West in the interests of the firm with which he was connected. There were, besides, two Government land surveyors going to lay out, I believe, some new land lots in tracts of the State till then unsettled.

The earlier part of the day was passed in smoking and discussing points of a political, legal and personal nature. On such the disputes occasionally waxed so warm that at some of the critical turns of the road the effect of the united gesticulations of the crowd inside threatened seriously to disturb the balance of the vehicle. Mr. Parsons, who travelled outside, came to the window at one of the stopping places to ascertain what was creating the disturbance, but on being informed the passengers were debating points of law, he forthwith retreated, saying he was mixed up with too much of that sort of thing at home.

On resuming our way after dinner a party was organized for a game at euchre. This is a game much in use in the States. While it was in progress I ascended beside Mr. Parsons, who in the course of the afternoon gave me a description of the people and manners of the West, so vivid and intelligible, that I heartily wish, for the amusement of the reader, I could reproduce it just as he told it. He did not much extol the moral tone of the part of the country in which he resided, particularly with reference to money matters; but the grand consolation of all who like him should murmur at the degeneracy of public virtues might be summed up in the gratifying announcement, "After all, we make money there."

The conviviality of the region was also considerable, and the means of intoxication not inviting. So bad indeed was their quality that manufacturers and consumers agreed in making the subject a matter of pleasantry. The former labelled the bottles containing their whiskey and brandy with the letters L. I. and I. D., said by the latter to represent the expressions, "lingering illness" and "instant death." The "dead-shot" and "forty-rod" were also the designations of a class of stimulants much prized in these parts. A specimen of the L. I., it appeared, we had enjoyed that very day in a house at which the stage coach had stopped, and I cannot recollect that I have since often encountered its like.

The long summer day was far gone before we came within sight of St. Cloud, a goal much desired, as a thunderstorm threatened us, and our vehicle was heavily laden with iron and steel agricultural implements, which, neatly arranged in a pile on the roof, might have subjected us to some risk from one of the blinding lightning flashes common in Minnesota thunderstorms. However, we escaped even from the inconvenience of a wetting, and about eight o'clock in the evening arrived on the bank of the Mississippi, which it was necessary to cross before reaching the town. We had travelled about eighty miles in seventeen hours, and at different points on the route had seen symptoms of a proposed change in the mode of locomotion, which now renders the journey easy in five hours, in the shape of a railroad, which had even then been "graded" for some years, but lay grass-grown and incomplete till long after 1861, partly on account of the effects of the Southern war in paralyzing enterprise, and partly because of events to which I shall allude in the course of my story.

A few minutes before reaching the ferry we came upon a company of volunteers camped by the wayside for the night. They were, I believe, the same men referred to in the preceding chapter as having come up the Mississippi along with us, and had, since their arrival at St. Paul, marched to the spot where we overtook them on their way to relieve a garrison of regular soldiers stationed at Fort Abercrombie. They received, with loud tokens of satisfaction, the newspapers thrown to them by the passengers in the coach, containing the president's message, published after their departure from St. Paul.

The ferry-boat on the Mississippi at St. Cloud was ingeniously propelled by the water of the river itself, which, acting on floats connected by an arrangement of lines with the boat, caused it to cross in either direction from bank to bank without the use of manual labour. There being no bridge, the stage coach was driven on board, and in a few minutes we were under the porch verandah of Stearne's House.

After supper a small party of us took a walk through the place. As a town it was then very small, and the style of its architecture very humble, consisting, generally speaking, of long, high Noah's

ark-shaped houses built of wood, and used as general stores, dwelling houses or groggeries.

By seven o'clock next morning we were again in our vehicle. The stage coach of the day before had, however, been exchanged for a sort of covered waggon, the canvas sides of which could be so rolled up as to afford coolness. It was furnished with enormous springs, and, indeed, a solidity of construction which bade defiance to the worst of roads was the distinguishing feature of the carriage. Of the large party which had travelled to St. Cloud, only three continued their journey westward, Mr. Morgan, Mrs. Cook and myself. Mrs. Cook was a lady who, having passed the earlier part of her life in London, had several years anterior to 1861 quitted England, and, along with her husband and family, settled down on a farm at a place called Alexandria, about 170 miles west from St. Paul.

This day's journey much resembled that of the preceding day. We halted at the regular stopping places, changed horses, dined, and resumed our journey. The country became even more level and clear of bush than what we had passed the day before. At night we reached a solitary house at a spot called Kandottah, where we prepared to make ourselves at home. This was not very easy, as we found all the men in the establishment were to be our fellow lodgers. The one large dormitory contained several spacious double beds hung with curtains of gauze to exclude the mosquitoes, which had begun to trouble us that day, and were thenceforward to be our inseparable companions. One of the large beds Morgan and myself at once secured. The former passed the evening working up his correspondence, using the broad side of his valise for a writing desk. The hovel was filled with smoke from "smudge fires" lighted to repel the mosquitoes. The fuel used for this purpose is composed of green leaves and weeds, which, when kindled in a brazier, produces vast quantities of smoke.

A sound sleep, in spite of the humble surroundings, and a fair breakfast prepared us for another day's work. During the forenoon we entered a very woody region, and the track became bad. The roads, which had been quite impassible early in Spring, had

been newly mended by laying logs transversely across them, forming what are technically called "faggot" or "corduroy roads." These are very rough, and our horses and vehicle plunged violently over them, pitching from side to side at hap-hazard. From time to time passengers relieved the fatigue and inconvenience consequent on this mode of locomotion by stepping out and following the coach on foot. The mosquitoes also troubled us much, as we had omitted to bring veils or "mosquito bars" along with us.

Towards one o'clock we reached Mrs. Cook's farm house, at Alexandria, where the coach stopped, the mail bags were examined, and we dined. After resting about an hour Mr. Morgan and I resumed our journey, leaving our late fellow traveller at home on the prairie.

We were soon past the Alexandria woods, and the plains again opened out on either hand. Beautiful and extensive sheets of water lay in all directions round our track, with clumps of wood and rising knolls along their margins. The country was entirely wild and unsettled; no human habitation was to be seen. Once, as the coach crossed a stream, an Indian bark canoe shot from under the bridge, while its crowded occupants, dressed in gaudy red cloth, stared curiously at our conveyance. These were the first Indians we had seen. No communication passed between our respective parties, and we passed on our way. Towards evening we reached Pomme de Terre, where our quarters were in just such another house as that at Kandottah. A coach similar to our own stood at the door, and a crowd of passengers were beside it. It was the stage running in the opposite direction to ours, from Georgetown to St. Paul.

The usual smudge fires were lighted, the evening passed, and we retired to bed in an overcrowded upper room. The party coming from Georgetown had heard rumours of Indian disturbances, and were anxious to make all haste in the direction of St. Paul; but we, not realizing as yet our position outside the pale of civilization, or the fact that any danger existed around us, felt quite tranquil and happy. Certainly no outbreak occurred for about a year after the time I passed through it, but when the massacre of settlers broke out a year subsequently, the same beautiful scenery we

had that day witnessed became the theatre of horrible barbarities, and all communication by that route was abandoned.

On Thursday morning the coach going eastward and ours started after breakfast, each towards its separate destination. The country became gradually flatter and more monotonous. We halted for dinner at the cabin of a Dutchman newly settled in that country on his solitary farm, for which he had quitted his late residence in an Eastern state. His house was miserable, but his fare was admirable.

In the course of the afternoon we struck the Red River of the North, which, rising far in the interior of the territories of the United States, flows due north and empties itself into Lake Winnipeg, in the British possessions. It constitutes the boundary between the State of Minnesota and the territory of Dacotah. Where we first reached it the stream was narrow, tortuous, and insignificant. Skirting along its course from point to point, our line of travel, which, until then, had been in a westerly direction across the state of Minnesota, changed towards the north. We reached the proposed town of Breckenridge, which then consisted of a single large house called a hotel, and only partially occupied by the managers of the post-house. Situated among the trees on the river bank this house had caught our eye several hours before we reached it, and, standing alone, its great height magnified into an appearance really vast by the flatness of the surrounding landscape, had not a little excited our curiosity to know its history and purpose. Our driver, on application being made to him for information, told us it was a town, adding somewhat drily, "that is a paper town," or words to that effect. The project has not yet been carried out, and I believe the only alteration which has since taken place on the spot has been effected by the tear and wear of the weather and the hostile efforts of the Indians, which together, have succeeded in rendering the single house uninhabitable.

Towards six o'clock in the evening our track plunged among the woods which flourish on the eastern bank of the stream, and run down to the water's edge. Looking across we found ourselves immediately under the palisades of the American fortress named Fort Abercrombie, which loomed up against us on the opposite bank of the river.

## CHAPTER IV.

### FORT ABERCROMBIE TO GEORGETOWN.

Colonel Day—Evening at the Fort—Plain Country—Georgetown—Mr. C. P. V. Lull and his Station House—Mr. Burbank—Detention at Georgetown—Daily routine—Steamer "Pioneer" and her passengers—Chief Trader Murray—Mr. Morgan's Scientific Tour—Steam Saw Mill—The "Woman in White."

A FERRY-BOAT conveyed our coach and ourselves across the Red River, and, driving up the bank, we entered the fort. The soldier-like appearance of the sentinels was remarkable, as they marched in measured paces on their respective parades, unmindful of the clouds of mosquitoes which buzzed biting around them. With some difficulty we had arranged to be allowed to sleep in rather poor quarters immediately outside the fort, when Mr. Morgan fortunately remembered the possible use of certain documents in his possession emanating from officials occupying high state position, and recommending him to the good offices of public functionaries in the United States, with whom he might meet in the course of the scientific tour he was then making. Armed with these, and accompanied by myself, he set out in search of the quarters of Colonel Day, the officer in command of the fort. This gentleman received both of us with the utmost urbanity, told us we could not get anything like comfortable lodgings in the neighbourhood, and invited us to pass the night in his house. While I busied myself in getting our portmanteaux brought to the quarters thus placed at our disposal, Mr. Morgan opened the objects of his mission to the colonel.

The eager attention with which the newspapers in our possession were scanned by our military friends brought home to us the vivid

realization of our having penetrated far beyond the land of telegraphs. We found ourselves, in fact, invested with a dignity till then strange, at least, to myself, that of *news-bearers*. The intelligence we brought was indeed very important, for it consisted of the contents of the President's message already referred to, along with a variety of details connected with the rebellion, interesting to the officers at Fort Abercrombie.

Colonel Day told us he was then under orders to proceed with his regiment of regular troops to the east, with the view of taking part in the war, and that he waited only the arrival of the corps of volunteers we had passed near St. Cloud, who were to succeed him in the occupation of the fort. He introduced us to Captain Lovel and Lieutenant Boyd, two officers serving under his command, and also to his son, a civilian.

After supper we sat under the verandah of the officers' quarters, which occupied an isolated position in the centre of the fort, watching the troops on their evening parade through the clouds of smoke ascending from the smudge fires lighted in the braziers before us. After dusk we retired within doors and spent the evening together in a public room, the majority of the company smoking, sipping their whiskey and water, and watching the progress made by Morgan who, with book and pen in hand, was closely questioning a couple of Indian half-breeds whom the colonel had procured for his satisfaction.

Reports of Indian dissatisfaction had been heard at Fort Abercrombie, but no great importance was attached to them, and, indeed, our hosts seemed inclined to smile at them. They smiled also at the anticipated difference between the fine well-drilled troops under their command and probable appearance of their amateur successors. On the latter, about one year later, fell the vengeance of the Sioux, as has been already hinted, and will be more fully dwelt on in the after part of my narrative.

The evening was far advanced before we retired to our respective "shake-downs," as the snug camp bedsteads were very happily designated. We bade farewell to our kind friend, the colonel, before turning in, as we were not to see him before starting in the morning. I may mention I am credibly informed that all the three

gentlemen above mentioned passed through the war alive, and that Colonel Day was, after its close, in the enjoyment of an important command near Washington.

Lodged in a comfortable chamber, protected from the mosquitoes by substantial gauzed frames on all the windows, we passed such a night as we had not enjoyed since leaving St. Paul, and in the morning had the further gratification of seeing our boots shining with all the lustre of which blacking vigorously applied is capable, in strong contrast, I need scarcely add, to the state in which we had donned them the preceding morning.

After an early breakfast we resumed our journey in a waggon other than that we had occupied the day before. It differed from the latter in more respects than its individuality, for whereas that had been provided with springs and drawn by four horses, our new one was without springs and drawn by only two horses. The luggage was also stowed inside, and there being no regular seats we used our trunks instead. The driver, who was an obliging, talkative man, sat beside us under the shade of the sheeted covering of the waggon which protected us from the sun. The day was warm, and the numerous mosquitoes, which, like ourselves, sought shady parts of the vehicle, bled us pretty freely. The distance to be traversed between Fort Abercrombie and Georgetown was about 45 miles.

In consequence of an unusual amount of freight, added, perhaps, to our natural reluctance to quit the colonel's comfortable rooms at an unreasonably early hour, we arrived very late at all our stages during the course of the day. The track ran northwards from point to point along the course of the Red River, which, as we had re-crossed it that morning, flowed on our left.

Towards three o'clock in the afternoon we saw, on the extreme verge of the horizon to our front, a line of trees, the tops of which at first only glimmered on our sight, running at right angles to the belt which fringed the river banks along our route, and losing itself far beyond towards our right. These were the woods along the Buffalo River, a tributary of the Red River, on the other side of which, close to its junction with the latter stream, stands Georgetown, our destination for the day.



Gradually the dim tree-tops of Buffalo River grew downwards to our approaching view, and we had the satisfaction, from the increasing distinctness gained by their details, of feeling ourselves making progress. Towards five o'clock we reached Buffalo River, which we crossed on a wooden bridge, and emerging from the fringe of woods came suddenly in sight of Georgetown, nearly a mile from us, situated on the bank of the Red River.

Georgetown was a mere village, consisting of a few dwelling-houses and stores erected by or for the Hudson's Bay Company, and used as a storing place for their goods in process of transshipment from the carts running between it and St. Paul, on the one hand, and the steamer running on Red River, between it and Fort Garry, on the other. Situated at the point where the timber belts of the Red and Buffalo rivers join, Georgetown is protected on its west and south sides by woods, but away towards the north and east stretch the horizon-bounded plains, bare of timber, which flourishes only along the banks of the rivers. In addition to its storing accommodation the place was used as a cattle station, the pasture being boundless and water plentiful.

As our wearied span drew up at the door of the "station house," or hotel of the village, the landlord, a tall, wiry American citizen, named Lull, walked up to ascertain what guests the vehicle had brought him. He welcomed us to his domicile, and showed us upstairs to the single sleeping room set apart for the use of the better class of travellers. The house, being quite new, everything was clean and comfortable looking. In common with all the buildings in the place it was constructed of wood. The dormitory was furnished with two beds, the one a large "double bed," the other, a snug little travelling iron one; both were protected by substantial mosquito curtains. Morgan and I were informed we were to occupy the large one in common, while Mr. Burbank monopolised the other.

On emerging from the house to look about us we encountered the latter gentleman, who was senior partner of the St. Paul firm of J. C. and H. C. Burbank & Company, under whose auspices the whole transport business on the line was carried on. He had just visited Red River settlement, and was staying a few days at

Georgetown, watching the operations at that central spot before returning home to St. Paul. Chief among the works in hand was the establishment of a steam saw-mill, then in course of erection close to the river bank, with a view to sawing the "lumber" required to build the hull of a fine new steamer about to be built and put on the station between Georgetown and the settlement.

Mr. Burbank informed us we would have to remain some weeks at Georgetown. The steamboat was then in the settlement, and might be back within a week, but, as there was no freight to load her, she would not leave for the settlement again until some should arrive. Mr. Burbank added that during the preceding year he had run the boat at regular intervals of time between Georgetown and Fort Garry, to convince the sceptical that the thing could be done so far as the depth of water in the river was concerned, but that, during the season then current, he meant "to run her to pay." He could scarcely succeed in the latter object were he to send her on her journey with only Mr. Morgan and myself on board, so he was resolved to wait till the carts from St. Paul with more goods should arrive.

Mr. Morgan was much chagrined at this intelligence, as his time was limited, and he seriously thought of giving up the project of going further, and returning by the first stage to St. Paul. I felt, however, so disinclined to part with such a pleasant travelling companion as he that I exerted all my powers of persuasion to induce him to finish his trip, and I succeeded.

We had arrived at Georgetown on the evening of Friday, the 12th July, and did not proceed on our further route till daybreak on the morning of Sunday, the 28th. We had accordingly an interval of more than a fortnight to pass as best we could in idleness. The resources of the country were not great. Shooting small birds in the woods, fishing in the river, "loafing," letter writing, and discussing with Morgan what he described as "the theory of Democracy," filled up, so far as I was concerned, the spare time between meals. The afternoon siesta, during the extreme heat which then prevailed, was, in the language of the country, "a great institution," though we generally had "to pay up" for it by sleeplessness of nights, a fair part of which would be

consumed by Burbank, Morgan, and myself in smoking and talking. "The theory of Democracy," on which our conversations often turned, was a subject which I was confessedly slow to apprehend. Mr. Morgan was good enough to admit he liked me the better for "supporting the cause of European institutions," on the ground that adhesion to the government of one's own country, in the presence of citizens of other states, was a high public duty, incumbent on all men. He prophesied, however, that a few years' residence in America, during which I should enjoy the advantage of inspecting the working of New World institutions, would insensibly bring me round to his view of the case, and, meanwhile, he agreed to differ.

One day towards the middle of the first week of our residence at Georgetown, on descending to tea, after enjoying the accustomed siesta, I was surprised to meet a crowd of strange faces collected in the dining-room before me. I found the steamer from Red River Settlement had arrived, and the strangers were passengers on their way to civilization. Some of them were Englishmen, who, after having paid a visit to the country, were on their way home. One, more particularly I recollect, was a young gentleman from Newcastle-on-Tyne, who had been out with a view to private fur trading, and was retreating from the abortive attempt in supreme disgust. He advised me to pause and think twice before persevering in my journey, and described the place to which I was travelling in no favourable terms. The discomforts and semi-starvation, to which all visitors were exposed, being out of the question, and, supposing even a man to be prepared to digest all the "dirt" he would have metaphorically to eat, there was another kind of dirt to be encountered, more matter of fact and less easily got rid of; in fact, the roads down there were of the most execrable character—mere tracks, which a summer shower would render impassable—and then the mud, words were feeble to describe it. He himself had been up to the body in it, and narrowly escaped one dark night perishing miserably in an obscure quagmire; moreover, its adhesive properties were such that, when once it touched your clothes, there was no way of removing it. The rest of the company seemed gravely inclined to corroborate the truth of this description

After supper I went for a stroll in company with the narrator, anxious to obtain information on a subject so near my interest as the nature of the place to which I was going. Before we had proceeded fifteen yards I observed symptoms of occupancy about a house in the village which had during my short residence been shut up and uninhabited. On enquiry, I learned the house was the residence of the local representative of the Hudson's Bay Company, Chief Trader Murray, who had that afternoon arrived on board the steamer, accompanied by his family and servants; and as we passed his gate we encountered that gentleman himself standing at the entrance to the enclosure before his house smoking his evening pipe. On hearing my name Mr. Murray greeted me as an old acquaintance, but I ridiculed the idea till he mentioned the fact of my having one morning walked to the Waverley Bridge Railway Station in Edinburgh along with him, when I at once remembered the circumstance as having occurred in 1857, after a night which Mr. Murray had passed in the house where I lived at the time. I accounted for my forgetfulness by assuring the gentleman that his European trip of 1857 had answered its health-restoring purpose so well that I would fail to recognize the Edinburgh invalid in him. He very kindly insisted I should quit my quarters at the hotel and stay with him during my further residence at Georgetown. On turning to accompany him indoors, I found my late companion had disappeared, when it transpired that a temporary degree of awkwardness existed between him and Murray, in consequence of a spirited remonstrance in which the latter had indulged when, on the preceding day, a member of his family, a little boy, had narrowly escaped death from the accidental discharge of a gun with which the other was somewhat carelessly vapouring around on board the steamboat.

We seated ourselves in a small porch, the walls of which were adorned with guns, shot-belts, and other implements of the chase, artistically hung, and Mr. Murray entered into full details relating to certain parts of the world he had visited. The narrative touching Red River roads, to which I had listened at supper, he did not expressly contradict, though he appeared to consider it unworthy of mention. His own experience in Rupert's Land had

been great and long continued—but the adventure on which he most prided himself, evidently, was his having founded the most remote post of the company, Fort Youcou, in Russian America, situated within one or two degrees of the Arctic circle.

In the course of the evening Morgan, along with some of the steamboat passengers, dropped in, and the object of my companion's journey being mentioned, Murray gave him a few hints and promised to aid him a little by getting Indians or half-breeds belonging to different tribes whom he could question. The specific work to be done consisted in filling up the blanks of a long schedule with Indian words, which could, of course, be supplied by any Indian or half-breed conversant with the language, and by comparing the different words of varying Indian dialects and tongues representing the same meaning, certain conclusions of an ethnological character could, Morgan thought, be arrived at. The words he had selected for universal translation were those representing degrees of consanguinity, such as father, son, mother, and so forth. This system of interrogation had not been selected unadvisedly or without close deliberation. In addition to its other advantages, a system of consanguinity elicits words representing ideas common to the whole human family, and hence expressed by vocables in all languages, savage or civilized. Certain relationships, however, among some tribes bear a relation to each other different from that which obtains in others. For example, in the Seneca dialect of the Iroquois language, Mr. Morgan found that the relationship of "a father's brother," which, in English, is called uncle, is expressed as "father;" "a father's brother's son," or cousin germain, if older than the person speaking, as "elder brother," if younger, as "younger brother." Such a mode of expression, though complex to a stranger, is to the Indian naturally and readily applied, while the entire system rests on definite ideas standing to each other in intelligent and fixed relations.

In composing his schedule, Mr. Morgan had contrived, with legal acumen, so to arrange and classify his long list of terms, extending in number to more than two hundred, and in degree to very remote relationship indeed, as to receive answers manifestly tending to results which he considered interesting, remarkable and important.

Having established to his own satisfaction the existence, among the Indians generally on the North American continent, of a peculiar system of relationship, he wished to compare it with those in use among the natives of other countries. He had made the subject his study, and had been at the world's end for evidence bearing thereupon. Missionaries in Hindostan had contributed their good offices in returning him the blank schedules he had forwarded filled with the phraseology of the dusky disciples, and Mr. Murray, who happened in the course of conversation with me, as a man newly from Glasgow, to mention the name of a relative of his own in that city, elicited from Morgan the information that the gentleman in question had filled up for him a schedule in the Gaelic language, and that the train of ideas shown in the system of Highland consanguinity presented to his mind coincidences strange and noteworthy. The gentleman referred to was Dr. MacNab, a Divine of some eminence connected with the Free Church of Scotland, who was then resident in Glasgow, but is since dead. The term "Highland cousin," I understand to have passed into a proverb, denoting, in some instances, a very remote relationship indeed. Not having myself seen Dr. MacNab's paper, I am at a loss to know how that clergyman described what ought to have included the outward range of family connection possible even with a Highlander, "the relationship which the daughter of the daughter of a brother bears to the son of the son of the son of the brother's sister," a query elucidatory of which closes the series on Morgan's circular schedule.

The day after her arrival we went on board the steamboat to inspect her. She was a small vessel propelled by a "stern wheel," and called the "Pioneer." She had been built on the upper waters of the Red River; her machinery, which had originally belonged to another steamer running on the Mississippi, had been transported over the height of land intervening between that stream and the Red River. Her original name was the "Anson Northrop," so called in honor of a distinguished citizen so named flourishing in Minnesota. She was provided with four staterooms, each containing two berths. Passengers, over and above the number of those who could be accommodated in these, slept in a series of open berths extend-

ing along the main saloon, from which they were separated only by their curtains.

The time of our detention continued to pass slowly. One day the steam saw mill, to which I have alluded to, being completed, the work of sawing timber was immediately commenced, amid a little gentle excitement among the scanty population. The departure of the passengers, who had arrived by the steamer, in the stage, on their way to St. Paul, caused another slight sensation. The arrival of the mail every alternate day from St. Paul soon began to be as much longed for by us as the one we had brought was by the gentlemen at Fort Abercrombie. Our only course was with patience to suffer the heat, and loll on rocking-chairs under the shade of the trees in Mr. Murray's enclosure, reading Humboldt's *Adventures in South America*. Morgan, having questioned all the people about the village who could throw any light on his researches, sought occupation of a general nature. After a few walks with his gun, the only reward of which, worth mentioning, was a hawk he shot one afternoon, he turned his attention to books. Fortunately I had brought with me Mr. Wilkie Collins' "*Woman in White*," then newly published. In a short time this popular production completely dispelled Mr. Morgan's *ennui*, and interested him so much that he attended to nothing else. He looked on the circumstances of the story with a legal eye, and criticised them as if they had been of actual occurrence; alternately burning with indignation at the complicated and successful rascalities of the Machiavellian Fosco, and shaking with laughter in contemplation of the "fantastic tricks" of the monomaniac Esquire of Limmeridge. I presume the unusual nature of the plot had struck his legal mind with unusual force. The volume I possessed was perused by many successive delighted readers before it fell to pieces from sheer use, it being for a long time the only copy of the kind in the country, but to none, I believe, did it convey nearly the same measure of entertainment as to Mr. Morgan, during his protracted residence at Georgetown.

## CHAPTER V.

### GEORGETOWN TO RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

Red River Carts—Plain Transport—Convivial Evening—Start from Georgetown—Timoleon Love—Red River Steam Navigation—Mosquitoes at Night—Goose Rapids—Scene of Mr. James McKenzie's Wanderings and Death—Pembina—British American Frontier—Red River Settlement.

ONE day, exactly a fortnight after our arrival at Georgetown, news arrived that the train of carts from St. Paul, conveying the freight so anxiously expected, were close at hand. That very evening they arrived, accompanied by a crowd of merchants whom we had left at St. Paul, and who had travelled slowly along with their carts. The amusement of these people at the expense of Morgan and myself was great, their merriment taking rise from the circumstance of our having got so decided a start ahead of them at first, and being obliged to wait till they came up after all. Their train consisted of several hundred carts, drawn by oxen, which came winding its slow length along in single file, the creaking of the wooden axles of so many carts making a noise as unpleasant as it was loud. The unloading and transhipment of the ladings, being a work requiring time and daylight, was delayed till the following day, when it was arranged the steamer should leave for the settlement.

The carts composing the train were of uniform make, and of a species called "Red River carts." They are constructed entirely of wood, without any iron whatever, the axles and rims of the wheels forming no exception to the rule. Although this might at first sight appear a disadvantage, as denoting a want of strength, yet it is really the reverse, because, in the country traversed by these vehicles, wood is abundant, and always to be obtained in



quantities sufficient to mend any breakages which might take place. The only tools necessary, not only to mend but to construct a cart, are an axe, a saw, a screw-awger and a draw-knife ; with these the traveller is independent, so far as regards the integrity of his conveyance. Indeed, the cart may be described as a light box frame poised upon an axle connecting two strong wooden wheels. The price of such an article in the settlement is about two pounds sterling. The harness is very rude, and is made of dressed ox-hide. Each cart is drawn by an ox, and in cases where speed is an object a horse is substituted. The horses used on the plains for draught purposes are usually the wiry little "Indian ponies," one of which, with a load of four or five hundred pounds in the cart behind him, will overtake from fifty to sixty miles a day in a measured, but by no means hurried, jog trot. Horses are, however, generally used only when men travel "light," and time is an object, in which cases the bulk of the loads consists of the canteens, bedding and personal luggage of the passengers.

The common rate of progress made by heavy freight carts is about twenty miles a day, of ten travelling hours, the load averaging about eight hundred pounds per cart. A train of great length is divided into brigades of ten carts each, three men being considered sufficient to work such a brigade ; one of these three is invested with a certain minor authority over the other two, while an individual considerably more highly paid than any of the rest has charge of the entire train, and, moving about on horseback from one brigade to another, exercises a general supervision over the whole party throughout the journey.

The drivers harness and unharness the animals at the camping places, and attend to feeding and watering them. The guidance of the oxen at all the difficult passes upon the route, such as crossings of rivers and swamps, forms a laborious part of their duty, which, however, is, on the whole, by no means heavy. Each carries a "cow-bell" attached to his harness, which, in case of his wandering out of the camp by night, gives notice of his whereabouts to the drivers.

A supply of spare animals, varying, according to the state of the tracks, from one-tenth to one-fifth of the entire number, accom-

panies the train to relieve the whole body, each member of which in turn becomes a supernumerary, and supply any vacancies which may occur from death or accident along the route. Each day a start is made at daybreak, and travelling continues until about noon, when the people dine and the animals rest during the heat of the day. In the afternoon the journey is resumed until, in the cool of the evening, at some eligible spot, the night camp is formed. Such is the usual itinerary. The great object in selecting a camping place is to procure as much good water as possible, and good grazing for the animals.

The above description is designed to convey a general idea of the means and mode of land-transport on the plains of British North America.

At length the final day of our detention arrived, and all was bustle and business in the place. Proprietors of goods, contractors' agents, clerks and steamboat labourers, were busy from an early hour carrying freight on board and getting everything in train to start. Towards evening, all being in order, Morgan and myself bade farewell to the pleasant shade of the large trees, under whose branches we had spent much of the preceding fortnight, and took possession of the state-room we had been fortunate enough to secure for our joint occupancy, and which constituted the only direct advantage we had derived from our early arrival on the spot. We were indeed fortunate in having even so much privacy as this place afforded, for the berths in the main saloon were occupied by a remarkable medley of settlers and backwoodsmen, some of whom might be truly described as "hard cases." On the first evening we passed on board, all were apparently of one mind respecting the propriety of "making a night of it," and the contents of the two-gallon whiskey kegs, with which each man appeared to be supplied, sustained a heavy drain. Cards were introduced, and Mr. Morgan and I, who had retreated betimes to the shelter of our room, were regaled till far into the night with the notes of rattling choruses and glees resounding through the frail partition separating us from the revellers.

On emerging from our chamber next morning we found the steamer had not yet started. Before breakfast she got away and

commenced her voyage, favoured by the stream, which glided downwards at the rate of about one mile an hour. With the object of transporting a greater amount of freight than could be taken on board the boat itself, there was towed alongside a well-sized substantially built barge, filled with boxes and bales, the trim, well packed appearance of which did credit to the London and other firms, the names of which were neatly printed on their coverings. During the morning passengers got "shaken-up" together, and made each other's acquaintance a good deal more quickly and intimately than had been the case with those on board the Atlantic Packet "Hibernian." Morgan and I were initiated into a variety of curious matters by Mr. Timoleon Love, a person whose acquaintance we made that morning. Mr. Love was by profession a gold miner, and had practised his business in the fields of California and Cariboo. His reasons for leaving those thriving localities he certainly did not make very clear to my comprehension; but he assured us that gold in paying quantities would certainly soon turn up in the fertile valley of the Saskatchewan, that an enormous influx of miners would thereupon take place, and that the Red River settlement, lying right in the line of traffic, would suddenly become "quite a place." He said he proposed passing the winter at Red River, but in spring he would go west and commence gold digging. He had already crossed the mountains, having come from Cariboo by the Saskatchewan, and after paying a hurried visit to St. Paul, with the object of providing himself with the necessary "rockers" and other instruments of his craft, was then on his way back.

The contemplation of the airy castles built by this gentleman served to beguile part of our first morning on board; but as the sun got well up and the heat increased, our position became uncomfortable. The steamboat was small and over-crowded, the funnel rose up through the saloon, rendering that chamber extremely warm, the sun overhead beat fiercely upon us, and the high river banks on either hand prevented the breeze reaching us. As might be gathered from the description of American river boats already given, the pilot of such has the most enviable position on board during the warm weather. Secure in his wheelhouse—a comfortable box in

which he is protected from the sun's rays, and elevated above the saloon—he can see from his lofty position the obstacles to navigation far ahead and around the vessel. He is quite alone in the possession of these advantages, for, should any passenger attempt to get near him, he would soon be dislodged by the sun's heat and the sparks continually falling from the funnel, while there is no admittance to the wheel-house itself.

The Red River on its upper reaches is exceedingly tortuous. By the plain track, the distance between Georgetown and Fort Garry is about 250 miles, while, by the river, it is 500 miles, the major part of the excess being caused by the crookedness of the channel above Pembina, that is, on the upper two-third parts of its direct length. The tameness of the scenery is also excessive. The same high poplar-clad banks enclosed us day after day. The reaches during the first few days' travel were extremely short, and in consequence of the above-mentioned tiresome property of the stream, after steaming perseveringly for half an hour we, at the end of that time, might find ourselves not twenty yards distant from the spot whence we had started at its commencement.

The traces were very noticeable of the ravages of one of a class of evils which periodically afflict this country. A violent flood had, on the breaking up of the ice in 1861, caused much loss on the Red River, and we observed far overhead on the high banks the broken branches and torn bark of the trees. The water had, however, subsided to such an extent that there was barely sufficient in the channel to float our boat, and considerable caution and skill had to be exercised in steering her.

In consequence of the shortness of the "Pioneer" it was found very difficult to manage her in turning the numerous and sharp points which we passed on our way. This difficulty was obviated by protruding a long, tough sweep from the bow, which virtually increased the length of the boat, while, being vigorously worked by cunning hands, it powerfully assisted the helm. Towards evening, in making a sharp and swift turn round a point, this instrument gave way very suddenly, to the extreme discomposure of the individual working it, and the peril of the vessel running aground. All hands were at once called up, the boat stopped, and

a party with hatchets despatched into the woods, whence, having brought a long, gnarled branch, suited to their purpose, they speedily manufactured a fresh sweep, by the aid of which we were enabled to resume our voyage after a delay of about half an hour.

When we had run for about ten hours after leaving Georgetown, towards six o'clock in the evening, one of the crew was put ashore, with directions to return to that place on some errand, the remarkable part of the affair being that the messenger on foot was reasonably expected to arrive at Georgetown, whence we had that morning started, before bedtime. There being only one gang of men on board, and the navigation being bad, we drew up along shore at nightfall, and came to a standstill. The passengers, who felt so inclined, amused themselves by jumping overboard and swimming in the comparatively cool waters, the engine-room on the lower deck being turned for the time being into a dressing saloon.

We had, as the sun went down, congratulated ourselves on escaping from its heat, but, when evening drew on, and we were settled for the night, we were assailed by the mosquitoes, who, liking the fiery beams as little as ourselves, and brushed away by the onward motion of the steamboat, had not troubled us during the day. To no purpose did Morgan and I close fast our room door, and shut the windows. The terrible animals penetrated through the chinks of the clumsily-joined boarding and the numerous crevices, invisible to us, but too soon discovered by our persevering enemies. We had certainly to congratulate ourselves that we slept on the side of the steamer removed from the shore, and that our windows were, therefore, not close to the teeming foliage, but even with that mitigating circumstance we were wretchedly enough situated. As the long hours advanced, and fresh hordes came to the attack, we attempted to escape under thick blankets, but from these we were speedily forced, half smothered, to withdraw, and content ourselves with the partial protection afforded by sheets through which the mosquitoes bit viciously. After lying awake, listening to the peculiarly fever-promoting sound of their buzzing, for a long time, I rose, and, entering the main saloon, found a knot of fellow sufferers there assembled. Impelled by thirst, the common sentiment was

in favour of making an attempt upon the cook's stores, and one adventurous individual, having volunteered to dive into the obscure depths of the pantry trap stairs, speedily emerged with a kettle of cold tea, which we immediately despatched, and, somewhat refreshed, I returned to my berth and succeeded in sleeping the remainder of the night.

Such is a tolerable description of our daily experiences during the journey. I think it was on the morning of the third day (Tuesday) that we came to the spot called the "Goose Rapid," where the navigation was worse than at any other part of the river we traversed. The obstacles consisted of the rapids themselves boiling and rushing over the huge boulders laid bare by the low state of the water level, and of the narrow size of the channel through which the steamer had to pass. For more than an entire day the crew was engaged pulling the vessel over the ground by main force, by means of a rope attached to the capstan, and fixed to a spot ashore at some distance ahead. At intervals during this tedious series of operations the "Pioneer" would partially ground, while the greater part of her keel would be floating in water flowing like the sluice of a mill. On such occasions she would whirl cork-like around, setting at defiance the utmost efforts of the rude stern wheel to regulate her motions. At last the rapids, which extend over a length of about two miles, were passed, and we steamed ahead to good purpose. The captain began to breathe more freely and speculate with some degree of confidence about the day on which we should reach Fort Garry. The river became less tortuous, the reaches lengthened out into tolerably long stretches in front and rear, the turns were more rounded, and the cooling breezes were suffered by the widening channel to relieve us amid the sultry glare of noon.

We saw ducks and prairie hens in considerable numbers along our course. A few keen sportsmen fired at them from a favourable standing point on the steamer's barge, but soon tired of the sport from their inability to secure the birds they killed, the captain resolutely turning a deaf ear to all proposals about slacking speed for any feathered game. From time to time we passed the outlet of a tributary of the Red River, of which there are several flowing

from the West, though the most important and beautiful above Pembina, named Red Lake River, which empties the waters of Red Lake into Red River, flows from the East. Red River being the border line between the state of Minnesota and the Western territory of Dakotah, not yet exalted to the dignity of a state, our route may be said to have skirted the extreme edge of nominal civilization; to the right lay the tracts over which civilized men had an immediate prospect of commencing to inaugurate their sway, while, on the left, the undisputed land of the Indians stretched away over the endless plains towards the setting sun.

Saturday, the seventh day of our steamboat journey, had dawned before we found ourselves within easy reach of Pembina. The uninhabited waste through which we were passing had been invested with a sombre human interest, in consequence of a tragical event of which it had been the theatre about nineteen months antecedent to the time to which I refer. It appeared that, in the winter of 1859, Mr. James Mackenzie, the clerk in charge of Georgetown, had started along with three men to visit the settlement, partly on business, and partly with the object of spending some of the Christmas holidays among his friends at Fort Garry. The means of conveyance consisted of mules and a waggon, instead of the ordinary winter travelling apparatus of the country—snow shoes and dog sledges. Mr. Mackenzie was a first-rate traveller, and accustomed from early boyhood to such work. He knew the country well, and, for a man of his strong constitution, the severity of the winter cold had too few terrors. He started from Georgetown very lightly clad. At a place called Pine, or Tamarac River crossing, about fifty miles from Pembina, he volunteered, as the party with which he travelled had run short of provisions, and their waggon, in consequence of bad weather, travelled heavily, to push onwards alone, with the intention of sending back assistance from that post. He followed the track correctly until nightfall, when he lost his way, probably in an attempt to find a shorter route to Pembina, nearer which, in consequence of some similarity in the landscape, he fancied himself to be than was the case. The succeeding morning he resumed his journey, but in the wrong direction, and after another night spent on the plains, running

about in a circle to preserve the heat, his third day's travel brought him to a spot locally known as the "the Poplar Groves between Two Rivers," about thirty miles from Pembina, and very far from the regular track. Here hope appears to have deserted him, and, having hung a portion of his clothing on a tree to attract the attention of any passer by the spot, he lay down and was frozen to death. When his dead body was recovered it was not yet altogether frozen. He lay with one hand on his heart, and the other containing a compass. His sufferings must have been very great, as testified by the indications above referred to, easily comprehended by the experienced Plain travellers who found the body. A severe snow storm had raged during the nights he had spent on the prairie, and it was afterwards remembered that on the fatal night the thermometer had fallen to forty degrees below zero, while a searching north wind, from which the poplar groves, through which he chiefly travelled, offered but poor shelter, blew mercilessly cold. I may mention the above is fortunately a very unusual concurrence of circumstances, as, during the prevalence of extremely low temperature, the weather is generally calm.

It was conjectured, from certain of the indications, that Mr. Mackenzie, on realizing himself as lost, must have grown so excited as to lose his presence of mind, or he would have known his necessary general position with regard to the river, and have acted otherwise than he did. A beaten track was found on the snow in the ring which he had formed in walking during the second night after leaving his friends.

The danger of solitary winter travelling, as evidenced by the facts of this deplorable affair, is very great, and the practice is never permitted, when it can be avoided, by the officers in the Hudson's Bay service. But that winter is not the only season when fatal accidents may happen from want of friendly succour on the plains was evidenced by an event which happened to one of the "Pioneer" passengers, on the trip referred to, a few days after his arrival in the settlement, which it may not be entirely out of place for me to mention here. This man, originally from Glasgow, in Scotland, was then travelling with the same gold-seeking object as Mr. Love, with whom he was in partnership. He



had accompanied a few friends on a shooting expedition, but separated from them, and was afterwards found dead in the swamps to which he had gone in quest of game. Apoplexy was supposed to have been the cause of his death.

About midday on Saturday we arrived at Pembina, a small, isolated settlement of Americans and half-breeds chiefly connected with the fur trade, situated on the left bank of the Red River, in the American territory of Dakotah, close to the border between the United States and the British possessions. The dividing line between the two territories, which is an artificial boundary, described as the 49th parallel of latitude, is marked at Pembina by a single wooden post, the position of which was decided by surveyors appointed by the United States Government. On the English side of the frontier the Hudson's Bay Company maintains an establishment for trading purposes. The steambot stopped at the American settlement, where there is a custom house and post office. The goods, which are passed through the United States in bond, are released on a certificate from the collector of customs at this place, whose duty it is consequently to inspect all manifests and ladings of passing conveyances. At the post-office there were letters for sundry passengers on board the steamer. These letters had passed us in the mail bags, which were carried overland at fortnightly intervals between Fort Abercrombie and Pembina.

After halting about two hours we resumed our downward voyage, and entered British territory. We passed the trading establishment, built close to the river's bank, about two miles from the post-office. The stream, having now grown wide and deep, flowed in long sweeping curves, which, by their easy navigation, enabled us to run all night. Early on Sunday morning we reached the first houses of the Red River settlement. They were generally mere huts, consisting of one chamber each, lighted by a single window, but from time to time we passed one of more pretensions; they succeeded each other at intervals considerable at first, but afterwards gradually decreasing in extent as we proceeded. In the course of the forenoon we were hailed by a party of horsemen on shore, and, on stopping, were informed they were on their way to meet us,

having been sent by the authorities in the settlement, whose anxiety had been roused by our long detention and reports of Indian disturbances, which were fortunately groundless. By these people we received a copy of the last issue of the single local newspaper, the "Nor' Wester," which, as it contained articles abusive of certain leading public men in the colony, created some interest and merriment on board.

As familiar objects came in sight considerable excitement prevailed among the passengers. An early dinner was hurriedly despatched. The river banks became crowded with pedestrians, whose curiosity had been awakened by the rare event of the steamer's arrival, and between twelve and one o'clock a sharp turn in the river brought us in sight of the stone bastions of Fort Garry on our left, and the fire-blackened ruins of what had been the towers of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Boniface, on our right hand side.

## CHAPTER VI.

### EARLY CIVIL HISTORY OF RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

Hudson's Bay Company's Charter—Opposition Fur Trade—X. Y. and North West Companies—Earl of Selkirk's Land purchase—Emigrants from Duchess of Sutherland's Estates—Opening difficulties—Skirmish of Seven Oaks—Lord Selkirk's visit to the Colony—Extinction of Indian Land Titles—Coalition between Hudson's Bay and North West Companies—Condition and Early Prospects of the Colony.

BEFORE proceeding further with the narrative of events occurring under my own observation, it will, I think, be proper for me and interesting to the reader that I should enter at some considerable length on a discussion of certain matters of a general nature connected with the Red River Settlement. In pursuance of this plan I shall devote the present chapter to the civil history of the colony.

In virtue of a charter granted in the year 1670 by King Charles the Second, the Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated and endowed with certain rights and privileges. This charter has been much before the public both of England and America, and considerable doubt has been expressed by the Press as to whether any, and, if any, what rights could be claimed under its provisions. It has also been laid before a long succession of eminent lawyers, with the object of discovering what good grounds the public might have to support the opinion that it should be held invalid. Some of these gentlemen, among whom were Mansfield, Erskine, Romilly, Scarlett, Bethell, and many others, have doubted whether King Charles had the power to confer a right of exclusive trade upon any company, but all agree that, under the charter, the right to the possession of the land within the limits therein specified, could be, and was, conferred on the Hudson's Bay Company. The territory, described as Rupert's Land, consists of the whole region whose

waters flow into Hudson's Bay. It extends back from the Bay, in its narrowest width, on the east main coast, about 200 miles, on the south about 300 miles towards Canada, while it attains its greatest breadth of more than 1200 miles on the western shore of the Bay, whence the belt stretches back towards the Rocky Mountains, including within its limits the fertile valley of the Saskatchewan, whose waters fall into Lake Winnipeg, from which, through an outlet at its north-eastern extremity, they pass into streams emptying themselves into Hudson's Bay. The operations of the company, as a trading corporation, extend over vast regions other than those included in the ring above traced, but its proprietary rights and governing responsibilities under the charter are confined within the limits described.

Until about 1774, being more than a century after the date of the charter, the company does not appear to have extended its operations very far beyond the sea coast, the country west of which was a wilderness inhabited only by wild beasts and tribes of wandering savages. The project of colonization, in any part of the territory, was first attempted by Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, about the year 1811. At this time Red River was the headquarters of an inland trading district perfectly isolated from the rest of the world, and one of the principal scenes of contention between the Hudson's Bay Company's agents and those of the two rival Canadian fur companies, called "the North West" and "the X. Y." companies, between whom the feeling of rivalry ran so strong as to lead to occasional scenes of bloodshed and frequent scuffles of minor importance. In the last and most serious of these engagements, which took place in 1816, Governor Semple, the chief magistrate, was shot.

This deplorable condition of things is not to be ascribed to any sudden outbreak or mismanagement on the part of any of the agents concerned, but was brought about by a series of events extending over a period of years. In 1763 Canada was ceded by the French to the English, under the Treaty of Paris. As early as 1640, French colonists, whose spirit of adventure, stimulated by the desire of gain, and love for the free, roving Indian life, had led them to pursue the calling of the trapper, betook them-

selves to the woods and hunting grounds of Canada, and spread gradually over the whole country east from the height of land west of Lake Superior. These were termed *Coueurs des Bois*, and, as hunters and trappers, they were even more skilful than their Indian teachers. As traders, they were outfitted by Canadian merchants with necessary goods to barter with the Indians for furs, and, after periods of absence extending over twelve or fifteen months, spent in travelling in their canoes, would return laden with furs of great value, their share of which they regularly squandered during a short residence in the city previous to embarking on their next voyage. In 1731, a Lower Canadian seigneur, named M. Varennes de la Vérandrye, acting under a license to trade, granted by the Canadian Government, was the first white man to cross the height of land above mentioned in the first of two expeditions which he made as far as the Rocky Mountains. On the first he went down the Winnipeg River to the borders of Lake Winnipeg, and penetrated up the Red River and Assiniboine to the prairie lands of the far West, locally known at present by the names of the "Districts of Swan River and the Saskatchewan. On his second expedition, M. de la Vérandrye penetrated up the river Saskatchewan. His example was followed by many others, and, as the trade turned out profitable, considerable quantities of goods were forwarded from the Canadian settlements for barter with the Indians, the *coueurs des bois* acting as agents in the exchange.

About 1774, in consequence of the success of these traders, in pursuit of their policy of intercepting the Indians on their way from their hunting grounds in the interior to trade their furs with the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company at their factories, which, as above-mentioned, had before that time been erected only in the vicinity of the coast, the company was forced to protect its interests by establishing posts inland on the ground, which, under their charter, had been conveyed to them, but on which their opponents had, until then, carried on their operations comparatively undisturbed.

Far from being seriously damaged for some years, the Canadian traders continued to be so successful that wealthy men embarked

capital in the trade, and, about the year 1783, the opposition to the company had resolved itself into one other great combination called the "North West Company of Montreal." This association of merchants was peculiarly a Canadian institution, having its chief seat of operations at Montreal, in opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company, which was an English concern, with its headquarters in London. The chief operations of the Hudson's Bay Company were on the Bay itself; but, although the North Westers also traded on the Bay, their main efforts were concentrated on the plain country towards the West, and they gradually forced themselves, by Lake Superior and Red River, across the continent to the Pacific coast. They are said to have employed about 5,000 men altogether in their service about this time.

Discord appears, however, to have existed in the North West camp, for we read of a division of interest therein, and the foundation of another association called the "X. Y. Company," which opposed both the Hudson's Bay and the North West. The X. Y. continued to be, like the North West, a distinctively Canadian corporation. Matters between all these contending parties began to wear a formidable appearance. Hostilities broke out between the agents of the respective companies, and alliances were formed between the Indians and the whites connected with either party, while the whole trade was carried on in a reckless, extravagant manner.

In the year 1811, the Earl of Selkirk purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company the ownership of a vast tract of land, including, as a small part of the whole, the ground occupied at the present time by Red River Settlement. The sum paid in exchange for this grant I do not know. The rights granted to Lord Selkirk were full proprietary rights to the soil, subject only to the burden of extinguishing the Indian titles. Till that date the question of these claims had lain between the Indians and the company; the burden of their extinction lay thenceforward on Lord Selkirk.

About this time a compulsory exodus of the inhabitants of the mountainous regions in the county of Sutherland was in progress. The history of the expulsion of a vast number of the poorer tenantry from the estates of the Duchess of Sutherland, on which

they and their ancestors had vegetated in much idleness, semi-barbarism and contentment, from a traditionary era, to make way for the working of the sterner realities of the system of land management which prevails on great estates in the prosaic nineteenth century, is to this day fresh in the recollection of the remaining population of the extreme north of Scotland. The pain with which the homeless exiles saw the roofs which had sheltered them through life, removed from the bare walls of their deserted habitations by the merciless edict of irresistible power, has been retained in the memory of the peasants of the north, and, doubtless, the adventures of many of the expatriated ones, after their entrance on the untried vicissitudes of life in other lands, are known and held in interest by the children of their kindred in the country whence they came.

Few, probably, of the wanderers found so remote and sequestered a home as did those of their number whom the Earl of Selkirk took under his protection, and forwarded to settle on the estate he had purchased at Red River. Few, also, it is to be hoped, met with more serious obstacles to be surmounted in their dealings with nature and with men than the same hapless party. It must, however, be stated that they emigrated ostensibly of their free wills, Lord Selkirk having visited their parish of Kildman and laid such inducements before them as led them to close with his terms, nor was it until after the last of them had departed that the forcible expulsions were commenced. They arrived on the Bay coast in the autumn of 1811, and spent the winter of that year amid cold of Arctic intensity and many privations at Churchill, on the western shore of Hudson's Bay. On the outbreak of spring in 1812 they advanced inland, crossed Lake Winnipeg, and ascended the Red River of the North which empties itself into Winnipeg on its southern shore. At the confluence of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, about forty miles from the lake, they found themselves—metaphorically speaking—at home. They were in the centre of the American continent, 1500 or 1600 miles in direct distance from the nearest city residence of civilized man in America, and separated from the country whence they came by an impassable barrier.

There being no possibility of retreat it remained only to make the best of their position in the land of their adoption. Here, however, they found new food for anxiety. The X. Y. and the North West companies regarded them as invaders whose presence was detrimental to their interests and as *protégés* of their opponents Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company. The Indians also objected to the cultivation of their hunting grounds, and were instigated to hostile proceedings against the new comers by the representatives of the Canadian companies. The year 1812 passed without any satisfactory progress being made by the unfortunate people who spent the following winter in great misery at Pembina, near the United States frontier, whither they were driven by compulsion of the Indians.

They appear, however, to have found means before spring to mollify their opponents to such an extent as permitted their return to build log houses and cultivate the lands on the borders of Red River. After having been left to enjoy a term of peace which lasted about a year, the colonists were attacked by their persevering enemies, who, professing their determination to exterminate the society, reduced the huts they had built to cinders, killing some of the inhabitants in the process. Re-inforced by a company of additional immigrants from Scotland the settlers returned to the spots whence they had been driven, and recommenced their labours in defiance of all the discouragements they had encountered.

The foundation of this colony, if it had any effect at all on the relations between the agents of the rival trading companies, served only to exasperate their mutual enmity. Matters between them became steadily worse and worse—property was destroyed, establishments attacked, men captured and others killed. Acting as the representatives of the power in whose hands the government of the country had been vested, Governors MacDonnell and Semple successively issued proclamations and bravely fought in defence of the interests entrusted to their keeping for a long time. At length, on the 19th of June, 1816, the adherents of the two parties met under such circumstances that a skirmish occurred, in the course of which about twenty men, among whom was Governor Semple himself, lost their lives at a place now called Seven Oaks, situated in the heart of the colony.



I have been fortunate enough to secure from the lips of its author a metrical account of this battle, composed on horseback while on his way home from the scene of its occurrence, by Monsieur Pierre Falcon, who is now a petty magistrate in the colony, aged about 76 years. He neither reads nor writes. This composition was, however, like the ballads of the Saxon Bards of Old England, caught up by friendly ears and conveyed from mouth to mouth till it might be heard throughout the country wherever the axe of the woodcutter fell or the paddle of the canoe kept time to the cadence adapted to its measure. In reading the poem it must be borne in mind that the author was a zealous member of the North West party, and that his prejudices have seriously interfered with the accuracy of his description of the battle, if indeed the skirmish ought to be so spoken of. It is, however, a genuine production of the country, and a curious relic of the times.

(Please see Appendix A.)

Anxious about the fate of the people who had gone to Red River under his auspices, and deeply concerned personally as a land owner in the important events transpiring on the scene of these belligerent operations, Lord Selkirk left England with the view of visiting Red River, and personally inspecting the business there. In passing through Canada, being advised by dispatches sent him of the outrage at Seven Oaks, he applied to the commanding general of the forces in that colony for a body guard to protect him from assassination in his journey through the interior. He received for that purpose a detachment of two sergeants and twelve private soldiers belonging to a corps called the regiment De Meuron. On his own personal responsibility he raised an additional force recruited from disbanded soldiers formerly connected with the same regiment in Canada, and proceeded to Red River. On his way, and after his arrival at that place, he attacked and took possession of all the forts of the North West Company lying on his route, and made its agents his prisoners. Some of those who had been concerned in the Seven Oaks affair were sent to Canada to stand their trial as murderers, some as principals, others as accessories. There were also charges of arson, robbery of cannon and other "high misdemeanours." The trials

of the accused took place at Toronto, in virtue of a Commission from Lower Canada granted under the Canada Jurisdiction Act. They resulted in an acquittal of all the prisoners on all the charges.

Lord Selkirk was himself, some years subsequently, sued for damages grounded on the action he had taken during his expedition to Red River, and judgments adverse to him were obtained in the Canadian Courts involving vast sums. Such was then the state of public feeling in Canada with reference to the North West territory that no protection could be hoped for by the opponents of the Canadian companies.

A very important element in the business which took his Lordship to Red River in 1817 was the proposed extinction of the Indian titles on that part of his property intended for immediate occupation. What these Indian titles are is a question on which great latitude of opinion prevails among different people. As I have not studied the subject in many of its bearings I feel myself incompetent to pronounce any decided opinion, and, therefore, refrain from any discussion of the difficulties connected with it. The whole question lies, I believe, on the right of the Indian to compensation for the deprivation to which he is subjected of the only means available to him in his savage condition of gaining his livelihood,—this is the chase, an occupation necessarily at an end when the ground on which it is carried on is brought under cultivation. The difficulty has been met in the United States and Canada by a system of large Indian land reserves and annual subsidies. In Canada the result has been peace between the red and the white man; but, in the States, incessant Indian warfare has prevailed, and their civilization is annually encroaching on the territories of the race its progress seems destined to exterminate.

The Earl of Selkirk arrived with his system of operations arranged on a plan drawn up under reliable legal advice obtained in England. On seeking for men in authority among the Indians, some difficulty was at first found in getting any recognized chiefs, possessed of right to enter as principals on such a negotiation. The ground in question was held to belong to the Chippeway or

Saulteaux, and the Killistine or Cree " Nations." These barbarous tribes wandered over a wide extent of country, hunting and passing their time like any other brotherhood of savages. It was a difficult matter to find any single individual whose authority was considered binding by the rest. Five different chiefs were, however, at length selected, whose right to treat was established to the satisfaction of both sides, and, on the 18th of July, 1817, a treaty was duly signed by the Earl on one side, and these dusky wanderers on the other, whereby the latter made over to King George III., for the benefit of the Earl of Selkirk, their rights in a long strip of country, extending along each bank of the Red River and Assiniboine. The land ceded was to extend two miles back on either side from the river as a centre line, along that part of the Red River beginning from its mouth at Lake Winnepeg, and extending to its confluence with Red Lake River in the United States, and along the Assiniboine from its junction with the Red River, where Fort Garry now stands, to Muskrat River. The portion of land thus indicated between Pembina and Red Lake River, on which, in virtue of the treaty, the Indian titles were extinguished, as well as the larger portion of ground previously granted to his Lordship by the Hudson's Bay Company, being in the territory of the United States, gave rise long afterwards to a claim for compensation brought by the earl's representatives against the American government. In addition to the strips of ground just described, two circles, each of six miles radius, were ceded around Fort Douglas, (near Fort Garry) and Fort Darr (Pembina) as centres. The idea of a distance of two miles, which forms so important an element in this bargain, was conveyed to the Indian comprehension by describing it as "the greatest distance at which a horse on the level prairie could be distinctly seen, or daylight seen under his belly between his legs." The Earl of Selkirk was known among the Indians as the " Silver Chief." The instrument executed conveyed the lands in the first instance to the king, because the extinction of Indian titles in favour of private parties is legally a nullity, and the earl came out invested with special powers to conclude the treaty conferred on him by the Imperial Government.

The consideration on account of which the land was ceded was

an annual payment of two hundred pounds weight of tobacco, of which one half was to be paid the Saulteaux chiefs at Fort Garry, and the other to the Cree chiefs at Portage Laprairie, or, as it is called by the English, "the Prairie Portage," a point on the Assiniboine about 70 miles above Fort Garry. Each payment was to take place on the 10th October.

The important document, of which the foregoing is the scope, was signed by Lord Selkirk and five Indian chiefs as principals, and seven officers connected with the service as witnesses. The names of the chiefs were :

1. MacheWheoab, Le Sonnant.
2. Mechkadewikonair, La Robe Noir.
3. Kayajieskebinoa, L'homme Noir.
4. Pegowis.
5. Onckidoat, Premier.

These chiefs signed by appending their distinctive marks on the representations of wild animals by which they were respectively known.

So wretched had the general condition of the territory become, in consequence of the deplorable events above narrated, that the government of Canada interfered, with a view to attempt effecting a reconciliation between the conflicting parties. A gentleman named Coltman was appointed commissioner to ascertain the causes and extent of the disturbances. He recommended, as the only feasible remedy, that an effort should be made by Government to bring the traders to an amicable settlement and union of interests; but, for some considerable time, no action was taken on his recommendation by his employers, while the unfortunate companies through their protracted exertions were reduced to the verge of bankruptcy. Lord Selkirk died in 1821, and after that date the late Right Hon. Edward Ellice becomes the most prominent person round whom the current of events runs. This gentleman, then one of the principal stockholders of the North West Company, was consulted by Government, and, under its auspices, instituted negotiations which, after many difficulties had been surmounted by his perseverance and tact, happily resulted in a harmonious union between the Hud-

son's Bay and North West Companies, the latter of which had already combined with the X. Y. Under conditions satisfactory to both parties a coalition was formed in 1821, while the British Government, at Mr. Ellice's suggestion, obtained from Parliament powers to confer on the new Hudson's Bay Company rights and privileges extending over the country east and west of the Rocky Mountains not included in their own chartered territory, tenable for a term of twenty years. These privileges of exclusive trade in the Indian country outside of their own limits the company surrendered in 1838 with an application for their renewal. An inquiry into the working of the system under the management of the Hudson's Bay Company was instituted by the Colonial Office and the Board of Trade, the result of which was an expression of the entire satisfaction of the imperial authorities with the system of trade and government of the company, and an extension of the term of the temporary license to trade for twenty years more.

On his arrival in the settlement Lord Selkirk had provided the colonists with agricultural implements, seed, grain and other necessities, but as the season was far advanced before they could be used, the harvest of 1817 was so scanty that a famine ensued, and the people again passed the winter at Pembina, subsisting as best they could on the produce of the chase. The spring duties of ploughing and sowing were duly performed, and men hoped the harvest of 1818 would turn out well, but an army of locusts made its appearance and in one night cleared away every vestige of verdure from the fields. The grasshoppers left their eggs in the ground, and the numbers of young locusts which again in 1819 rendered agriculture impossible far exceeded those of the previous year. While the settlers took refuge at Pembina, Lord Selkirk, at an expense of £1,000, imported 250 bushels of seed grain from the United States, and this, which was sown in the spring of 1820, produced a plentiful crop in the autumn of that year.

Peace being completely restored between all parties on the coalition in 1821, the settlement at Red River made steady progress. The life of adventure, discomfort and migration between Pembina and their proper homes which the settlers had been forced to lead for eight years after their arrival in the country gave way to one

of tranquillity and greater ease than had fallen to their lot in Scotland. General contentment prevailed. The only market which existed for the produce they had to sell the colonists found in the forts of the company, where their grain was purchased to be exported for use in the establishments of the north where cultivation is impossible. Large as are the demands of the fur trade for farm produce the supply has often much exceeded them, and hence have risen much complaining, and loud cries for a wider market. The absence of such a facility is a necessary consequence of the isolated position of the colony.

As the immigration from Scotland did not recur after the arrival in two parties of the founders of the settlement, the population increased but slowly, and few events of public moment varied the dead monotony of yearly life. The volunteers from the regiment De Meuron, who had accompanied Lord Selkirk, settled numerous in the colony. The bulk of them were Swiss and Germans. Servants of the company who had spent their lives in the service retired to end them at Red River; and some of the officers, whose desire to return to their native country had withered through the lapse of time and the influence of family ties formed in the country, bought land and settled down on it for life, forming among themselves a society constituting the aristocracy of the wilderness. The representatives of Lord Selkirk sold the land to such people at a nominal price, varying from 5s. to 7s. 6d. per acre. The farms or "lots" were laid off, bounded by two parallel lines running out for two miles over the plains, starting at right angles from Red River as a base line. The most valuable of these lots were such as had the largest "frontage" to the river, such frontages varying in length from three to ten chains. When such a farm was allotted a Land Deed was given to the purchaser, and his claim registered in a record kept in the company's office. In 1836 the Hudson's Bay Company repurchased from the heirs of Lord Selkirk the whole tract of country ceded to his Lordship in 1811. This step was taken as the best means of putting an end to the complications arising from the tenure of the country by Lord Selkirk's representatives. The sum paid by the company was about £84,000, and was meant to reimburse Lord Selkirk's

heirs for the large sums his Lordship had spent in improving and settling the colony. This transaction was without prejudice to the interests of all colonists who had purchased land between 1811 and 1836.

The chief physical drawbacks against which the settlement has had to contend are floods, the most destructive of which occurred in the years 1826, 1852 and 1861. These are occasioned by the sudden thawing of deep snows which, forming vast sheets of water destitute of channels to carry them off, cause the rivers to overflow their banks and inundate the plains over an extent of hundreds of square miles.

## CHAPTER VII.

### CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

Fountain head of Administrative power—Governors in chief—Rupert's Land—Council of Rupert's Land—Governors and Council of Assiniboia—Recorders of Rupert's Land—Judicial Officers and Courts of Justice—Constabulary—Detachment of foot engineers and artillery under Colonel Crofton and Major Griffith—Colonel Caldwell's Pensioners—Royal Canadian Rifles—Necessity for Troops.

HAVING, in the preceding chapter, endeavoured to convey to the reader an idea of the early civil history of Red River, I shall devote the present one to an investigation of its constitutional history, if I may be allowed so to apply the term, as well as to a narration of some general matters bearing on the interest of the colony.

The supreme control of Hudson's Bay affairs is vested, under the charter, in a Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee of five Directors, all annually chosen by the stockholders at a general meeting held each November. These functionaries, residing in London, delegate their authority to an official resident in their American possessions, called the Governor, or Governor-in-chief, of Rupert's Land, who acts as their representative. His commission extends over all their colonial possessions, and his tenure of office is unlimited, as regards time. Sir George Simpson was the first person appointed to fill this high office, which was instituted immediately after the coalition of 1821. Previous to that date the various districts and posts had been ruled by numerous petty officers, subject to no efficient control, and practically answerable to none for abuse of power. I have it on the authority of men still living, who remember the events of those times, that the appointment of a Governor-in-chief was a measure fraught with much benefit



to the subordinate officers and servants of the company. Sir George died in September, 1860, still occupying the office he had held for nearly forty years. He was succeeded by Alexander Grant Dallas, Esq., who had for some years previously been connected with the company as a director and extraordinary agent on the Pacific coast. This gentlemen resigned office in 1864, and was succeeded by the present Governor, William Mactavish, Esq. The authority of the Governor is supreme, except during the session of his council, which is held once a year, and continues its formal sittings for two or three days. The Governor is president or chairman of this council, at which he represents the interests of the Board of Directors in England. There is no fixed place of meeting for the council; it has been held at Fort Garry in Red River Settlement, at Norway House, on Lake Winnipeg, and at York Factory, on Hudson's Bay. The place of meeting is always decided a year beforehand to suit the other complicated arrangements dependent thereupon. This is called the "Council for the Northern Department of Rupert's Land," but it assumes a general authority over all the other departments, and, to quote the words of the preamble to its official minutes, it convenes "For the purpose of establishing rules and regulations for conducting the business of the said department, and in order to investigate the trade of the past year."

The chartered territories and circuit of commercial relations of the Hudson's Bay Company are divided into vast sections, named the Northern, Southern, Montreal, and Western departments. Of these, the Northern department is situated between Hudson's Bay and the Rocky Mountains; the Southern, between James' Bay and Canada, comprehending, also, East Main, on the eastern shore of Hudson's Bay. The Montreal department comprehends the extent of the business in the Canadas, while the Western comprises the regions west from the Rocky Mountains. The depôts to which supplies from the civilized world are periodically sent, and which form the keys of these various sections, are York Factory, in the Northern department; Moose Factory, in the Southern; Montreal, in the Canadas; and Victoria, Vancouver's Island, in the west. In the Northern department, which includes the grand bulk of the

chartered territories, in which alone the burden of government falls on the company, the most important interests of the business are concentrated. Its vast extent necessitates a depôt for the "Inland districts," which exists at Norway House, and various causes have combined to render Fort Garry, in which are stored the goods passing over the United States route, the centre of business, and a large depôt for the "plain districts." A council for the Northern department is held every year, and at it the Governor-in-chief is invariably present; but he, also, from time to time, has held councils for the other departments, though his usual plan is to leave the details to be managed by competent officers on the spot, and, by correspondence, exercise a general jurisdiction over the trade.

His council is composed of the highest rank of officers in the service, called the chief factors, whose duty and right it is to sit at its meetings whenever their attendance is practicable. Members of the second rank of commissioned officers, called chief traders, when they can arrange to be present, are requested to sit in the council, which is held with closed doors, and, when so invited, the traders are permitted to debate and vote equally with the factors. The chief factors and chief traders together constitute the partnership in what is called "the fur trade." From this the profits of the Hudson's Bay Company may be said to be entirely derived; it constitutes the means by which the company avails itself of the right to trade, which it possesses in its territories. Vacancies in its ranks are immediately filled up as they occur from the death or retirement of its members, the qualification necessary to obtain the commission being a majority of the votes of all the chief factors. The candidates for a factorship are necessarily traders, while those for a vacant tradership are from the ranks of salaried clerks, seldom of less than fourteen years' standing in the service.

The partners in the fur trade are connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, under such provisions that their incomes fluctuate with the alterations of the annual profits of the trade. They hold their rights as a body, with respect to the stockholders of the company, in virtue of a deed poll, dated 1834, under which the commissions granted to the individuals are issued. These commissions,

held from the company, entitle the officers holding them to their share in the profits and all the other privileges they enjoy. Among the latter is the tenure of the position of magistrate in the territory of Rupert's Land.

Wide as is the jurisdiction of the assembly on the members, meeting places, and constitution, of which I have been endeavoring to throw some light, on very rare occasions, indeed, has it directly interfered with the affairs of Red River Settlement, within the limits of which the legislative power is exercised by another corporation, called the "Governor and Council of Assiniboia." Municipal institutions, of a very rude character, exist within the limits of this settlement, which is the only place in the Hudson's Bay territories wherein such have been established, because it is the only spot where there is a resident population to be governed.

Previous to the year 1848, the office of Governor of Assiniboia was almost invariably held by the officer in charge of the company's trading interests in the colony. His duties were of a very simple nature, the condition of the embryo municipality not being such as to create serious interest to be effected by his action. Moreover, at the time referred to, such an official as the company's principal commercial representative was almost the only man resident in the settlement competent to perform the simple services required of a petty governor. In 1848, Lieutenant-Colonel William Caldwell, an officer in the Queen's service, went to the settlement, partly in his military capacity, as a soldier, and partly as Governor of Assiniboia, under a commission granted by the Hudson's Bay Company. Colonel Caldwell remained at Red River as governor until 1855, when he was succeeded in his office by Frank Godshall Johnson, Esquire, a barrister from the Montreal bar, who, in addition to the appointment of Governor of Assiniboia, held that of Recorder of Rupert's Land. This gentleman resigned both these offices in 1858, when he was succeeded in that of governor by William Mactavish, Esquire, the officer then in charge of the company's general business at Red River, and who now fills the office of Governor of Assiniboia conjointly with that of Governor of Rupert's Land.

The Governor of Assiniboia is assisted in his duties by the

council of Assiniboia, of which he is the official president. When the Governor of Rupert's Land attends this local council, however, he takes precedence of the Governor of Assiniboia, and acts as president. The councillors of Assiniboia hold their offices in virtue of commissions granted to them by the Hudson's Bay Company, emanating from the house in London. These commissions, it will be observed, are entirely different from those which qualify for a seat in the council of Rupert's Land, which latter entitle the holders, as partners in the fur trade, to a definite proportion of its profits, and are granted only to those who are servants of the company in its mercantile capacity. The commissions of councillors of Assiniboia entitle the holders to no fixed remuneration whatever. The nominal pay of ten shillings per diem was voted, some few years ago, to be paid each councillor holding no public salaried office, during the days on which his attendance at council was required. This sum was granted to defray the necessary expenses incurred in the case of some who travel a long distance to attend the meetings.

There is no such system known in the settlement as popular election of representatives. Commissions as councillors are granted by the company to settlers on the recommendation of the Governor. The result is that the Council of Assiniboia is composed of the leading men of the colony in position, influence, wealth and intelligence. It now includes the Bishop of Rupert's Land and the Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Boniface. The recorder, or president of the Red River Courts, is the legal adviser of the Board. The French Canadian, the original Scotch, the mercantile and the general communities are represented by the principal members of their respective orders, forming in all at present a body of seventeen members, exclusive of the Governor, Judge and two Bishops, who may be considered as holding their commissions as councillors *ex officio*.

This council meets in the court-room at Fort Garry, and the public is not admitted to its deliberations. Communication between it and outsiders is carried on through the medium of the Clerk of Council, who is present at the meetings, and attends to the minutes and correspondence. There is no fixed session; it is convened by

the Governor through agency of the clerk who notifies each member of the day appointed for its meeting whenever any matter of importance requires to be discussed. Such is a description of the Legislative portion of the local institutions of the colony.

With regard to the administration of justice, the laws of England of the date of Her Majesty's accession, so far as they are applicable to the condition of the colony, are understood to regulate the judicial proceedings. The regulations passed by the Council of Assiniboia are of the nature of by-laws.

The head of the laws in the settlement is the Recorder of Rupert's Land, or as he is called in reference to his local jurisdiction in the colony, the President of the Red River Courts. The court of which this officer is chief sits four times a year, in the months of February, May, August and November, and is called the General Quarterly Court. The vast majority of cases on its rolls originate before it, but it is competent to act as a Court of Appeal on cases which have been previously adjudicated by the Petty Courts. In very rare instances, however, is it called to deal with such cases. From it there is no appeal to any Colonial Court. Three or four justices of the peace usually sit on the bench with the recorder, as associate judges, but these take no active part in the proceedings, and merely watch the cases and assist with their advice when called on to do so by the judge.

This tribunal is competent to try civil and criminal cases. In the former there is no limit to the amount at issue in cases on which it may legally adjudicate; in the latter it has power to try capital charges. It has on several occasions sat on such; in one case conviction was followed by execution of the criminal who was an Indian. This event occurred in 1845. The court sits with a jury.

The recordership was instituted, along with the court to which the office is attached, in 1839. Before that date the few unimportant cases which arose were decided by the Governor as arbiter; but as the settlement became more populous, and more difficult questions of a legal nature rose with increasing wealth, the company found it advisable to appoint an officer whose chief duty it would be to decide them, as well as to create the machinery whereby his exer-

tions could be most efficiently brought to bear on the wants of the people at large.

The gentleman who first occupied the position of Recorder of Rupert's Land was Adam Thom, Esq., of King's College, Aberdeen, and more recently of the Montreal Bar. He arrived in the spring of 1839, and in addition to his judicial duties was constituted legal adviser to the Governor of Assiniboia, who was instructed in matters connected with the law to be guided by Mr. Thom's advice.

Matters seem to have proceeded smoothly for several years, though the proceedings of Government, with reference to the free trade in furs, which was yearly increasing, though conducted surreptitiously, gave rise to much dissatisfaction among the people, and engendered a strong and general feeling of dislike against the responsible adviser of the authorities. The proceedings of the company in protection of the trade interests granted them under their charter were necessarily arbitrary, and gave rise to considerable discussion before a parliamentary committee of the House of Commons, which sat on their affairs in 1857. The course of action recommended by Mr. Thom was based on a view of the company's privileges and duties as seen in the light of pure law. I am not aware that the legality of his measures has been called in question, but they have certainly been quoted by the opponents of the company as furnishing evidence in their view incontrovertible of the impropriety of any recognition of the chartered rights being made by the British Government, and the Board of Directors in London signalized their opinion of the high inexpediency of some of his regulations by disallowing them without delay.

As a specimen of one of the worst steps taken, I may place the following facts on record. In 1844 a proclamation was issued by the Governor of Assiniboia stating that all business letters from importers of goods to their agents in England, to be forwarded by the company's packet, should be sent to Fort Garry open for the perusal of the authorities previous to being dispatched. Such importers as would consent to sign a declaration, the substance of which was equivalent to a security against their engaging in any

private fur-trading venture, were exempted from the necessity of compliance with this regulation. The privileges held under the charter, the facts that the means by which the letters were to be conveyed to the civilized world and the merchandise imported brought to its destination, were afforded by the company, which surely had the right to fix what terms it would for the facilities of postage and freight which it provided, were the arguments used in favour of Mr. Thom. Men opposed to the policy of that gentleman based their case on the fact that the settlers, in consequence of their isolated position in the heart of Rupert's Land, were entirely at the mercy of the Hudson's Bay Company, which, under its administrative obligations, was bound to provide postal facilities on fair terms for those living under its sway, and in virtue of its omnipotence to bring the goods necessary for its dependents over the only available route, of which it had the indisputable management.

In the year 1849, a French half-breed, named Guillaume Sayer, was apprehended on a charge of trading furs with the Indians, and put upon his trial before Judge Thom. Though not the first who had dabbled in the illicit traffic, the agents of the company in the colony resolved to make an example of him. He was convicted, but the prosecutors, satisfied with a favourable verdict, did not press for punishment. They do not, indeed, appear to have had any choice in this matter, for an armed mob of the prisoner's compatriots—French half-breeds—surrounded the court-house in numbers sufficient to overpower any force which could have been collected on a short notice to support the law, with the avowed intention of liberating their friend and assassinating the recorder.

After this outrage Mr. Thom ceased to appear in his place on the bench until 1850. During the intervening year justice was administered by the Governor, Colonel Caldwell, who acted as judge. By the colonel's own account the proceedings of the court, during the term of his presidency, were conducted very much after the manner of courts martial, he not addressing the jury, but merely ordering the clerk to read over the evidence which had been adduced. He also stated to the Commons committee, already referred to, that his legal ambition aimed only at rendering his tribunal "a court of equity," understanding this term as syaony-

mous with that of an institution for the administration of substantial justice, as apparent to a plain man. In the year 1850, a case arose involving a multitude of complications, all of a very painful and scandalous nature. The action of Foss *vs.* Pelly was one for defamatory conspiracy, brought by an officer of pensioners, resident in the settlement, against an officer in the company's service and others. It was surrounded with a variety of intricacies, compromising some of the leading people in the settlement, the bulk of whom were closely connected with the service, and the crowd of witnesses called included a large proportion of the most influential residents in the place. Probably no case ever brought before the Recorder's court, before or since, has given rise to so much bad feeling, and such deplorable sequences, as did this *cause célèbre*.

As a man of legal experience was believed to be the only one capable of weighing and disentangling the multitude of conflicting interests and assertions crowding into the dispute, arrangements were made by which Mr. Thom was permitted, after a retirement of one year, once more to occupy his place of judge, for the purpose of trying this case. The verdict of the jury was found for the plaintiff, Captain Foss, who obtained damages to the amount of £300. Colonel Caldwell, however, who had attended the court during the trial, in his official capacity as governor, was so much dissatisfied with the conduct of the case that, believing a very gross miscarriage of justice had been perpetrated, he addressed a statement of his views to the Board of the Company in London. The result was the permanent removal of Mr. Thom from his office of recorder, and his acceptance of that of clerk in the court, over which he had, till then, presided. The scale of pay allowed him as clerk was equal to that which he had drawn as judge. For four years Colonel Caldwell continued to preside on the bench, in place of Mr. Thom, but, in 1854, the latter resigned his situation as clerk and returned to Scotland. I cannot close this cursory glance at the official career of this pioneer of the law in Red River Settlement without stating that, at the close of his long and often unquiet sojourn of fifteen years in this singularly situated place, he left behind him the reputation of great ability, and of kindly hospitality in his private relations, among those of his acquaintances



best able to appreciate the former, and who had shared in the latter.

In the spring of 1854, Mr. Johnson, a distinguished pleader at the Canadian bar, became recorder. During his term of office he was fortunate enough to escape the disagreeable duty of adjudicating in any cause wherein public prejudice had enlisted itself on either side, and, after four years' uneventful occupancy, he quitted he recordership and returned to his practice in Canada.

From 1858 till 1862 the office vacated by Mr. Johnson remained empty, the duties attached thereto being performed by Doctor Bunn, the principal medical practitioner in the colony, who, to his other qualifications, added that of being a very able magistrate. The sudden death of this gentleman, which occurred from apoplexy, in the spring of 1861, was in many ways a severe loss to the community, of which he was a prominent member. Governor Mactavish succeeded him in the temporary discharge of the recorder's functions till the appointment of president of the courts was conferred, in 1862, on John Black, Esquire, who continues to hold it at the present time. As the main events which have occurred during the term of Mr. Black's tenure of office will be prominently touched on in the course of my narrative, I abstain for the present from entering into any details.

For the hearing of cases of minor importance there exist petty courts in the settlement, which is divided into three sections, over each of which the jurisdiction of one branch of these courts extends. The court attached to the principal section sits once a month, while those of the two less important ones meet only once in each two months, or six times a year. These tribunals are competent to take cognizance of all actions for the recovery of debt, where the amount at issue does not exceed five pounds, with the exception of cases of revenue, though, where the debt exceeds two pounds, the losing party may appeal to the General Quarterly Court. They are also competent to try all petty offences which involve only a pecuniary fine of less than forty shillings, and certain offences against the local liquor laws, which involve fines of much greater magnitude. Two petty magistrates and a president form a quorum in these courts, though the president votes only when the others have not decided by at least a plurality of votes.

To each of the three divisions of the petty court system there are attached a president with a salary varying from £8 to £16 per annum, and at least three petty magistrates with the uniform salary of £5 per annum. These functionaries are nominated by the Governor and Council of Assiniboia. Among their number are generally representatives of the principal social divisions of the settlement—the French or Canadian half-breed, the Scotch agriculturist and the general mercantile classes. This petty court system was introduced in 1852, before which time a description of petty circuit was made by itinerant magistrates who decided the few unimportant cases brought under their cognizance.

Besides the above-described magistrates-judicial functions are exercised in the colony by justices of the peace, to whose office no salary is attached. They are appointed by a commission of the peace conferred on them by the company. Their number is at present six, and, in common with all other magistrates in the settlement competent to administer justice, they are necessarily members of the Council of Assiniboia.

There is a regularly appointed coroner, who is generally the leading medical man in the settlement.

A sheriff, who is also governor of the jail, with an annual salary of £60 performs much the same duties as are attached to his office in England. His principal work consists, I believe, in the collection of debts after judgment has been pronounced by the courts.

An executive officer is attached to the courts who, in consideration of a salary of £100 per annum, discharges "all such administrative functions as are not specially assigned to any other person." Although this description may seem open to criticism, as too vague to be practical, it is the definition of the duties attached to the situation in the legally promulgated copy of the laws of the district of Assiniboia, and, considering their varied and important nature, it probably is as good a definition of well understood and important public duties as need be condensed into so few words. Mr. William Robert Smith, who has filled the office for the last twenty years, is one of the most remark-worthy men connected with the

colony, and will be brought prominently before the attention of the reader in the course of my story.

Early in the history of the settlement an armed constabulary of about fifty men, regularly enrolled, drilled and officered, existed in the colony. At a later period, however, this force was disbanded, and one consisting of not more than twelve men substituted in its room. The latter are retained in office for a term of nearly four years, though any one of them is liable to be at any time dismissed by the general court, or to be suspended by any magistrate or petty court. The amount of pay is £12 per annum, and the duties required are the serving and execution of writs and the maintenance of the peace. The latter, however, is a duty which may be understood as nominal only, as on no occasion of popular tumult has this force been specially called out. Besides this body, which is distributed over the extent of the colony, there has been instituted of late years a special constabulary of three highly paid men, whose duty it is to maintain order in a certain spot of the settlement where a village or embryo town has been erected, some inhabitants of which have attached to it the name of Winnipeg.

For a space of time extending over fifteen years a regular military force was quartered at Red River. In 1846 a wing of the 6th regiment of foot, a detachment of royal engineers, and a detachment of artillery, under the command of Colonel Crofton, were ordered to the settlement, where they arrived in the autumn of the same year. The entire party consisted of eighteen officers and three hundred and twenty-nine men. They reached their destination by way of York Factory on Hudson's Bay, over the route between which point and the settlement they conveyed their guns and stores by the usual means of inland transport used in the country. They were sent out under secret instructions from the War Office. Colonel Crofton himself remained for only one year, at the close of which he was succeeded by Major Griffith, who, along with the troops under his command, returned home in 1848.

They were succeeded by a corps of enrolled pensioners under command of Lieutenant Colonel Caldwell, already alluded to as Governor of the settlement. This force amounted to 56 men;

the term for which they were enrolled was seven years. They were induced to go partly as settlers, each sergeant being promised a free grant of 40 acres of land after his arrival in the colony, each corporal 30 acres and each private-soldier 20 acres. On their arrival it was discovered there was not enough of land within the prescribed limits to fulfil these promises, and arrangements were made whereby sums of money were substituted for the land grants. In 1855 the seven years term of enrolment expired, and the corps was disbanded, the Colonel returning to England along with some of the men; others of whom went to Canada, while the rest remained in the settlement. Some of them still continue here, and draw their pensions quarterly through the agency of the Hudson's Bay Company.

✓ From 1855 till 1857 there were no troops resident in the colony, but in the latter year a company of Royal Canadian Riflemen came out. This corps formed part of a regiment of seven or eight hundred men which was peculiarly a Canadian force, being recruited for service in Canada, though supported by the Imperial Government. After the first two years of its residence had expired the entire body of officers was relieved by gentlemen from other companies of the regiment, and in the year 1861, after having been stationed in the country for four years, the company returned to Canada by ship from York Factory.

Between the years 1861 and 1869 there have been no troops in the settlement. This happens to be the very period of the history of which I mean to give a sketch in the following pages, and it shall be seen how unfortunate it was for the public welfare of the country that the military were withdrawn, and also, doubtless by analogy, of what prime necessity to the good government of any country it is that a strong military force should exist to support the civil power even in times of profound peace abroad.

The peculiar circumstances of Red River Settlement render it especially perilous to be without some military force resident in the place. A small colony utterly isolated from the other British possessions on the continent, within seventy miles distance from the territories of the greatest power in America, from which it is separated only by the artificial boundary of a parallel of latitude;

continual questions rise with regard to refugees across the lines, stolen property and smuggled goods. But the principal danger lies in reference to the Indian tribes, some of whose hunting grounds are situated in the American and some in the English possessions. These Indians are often involved in hostilities against the whites and intestine wars, and constitute a class of dangerous barbarians who, when pressed by American troops, take refuge in British territory, whose presence in times of war gives great uneasiness to an unarmed population, and whose trade, even at ordinary times, often raises troublesome questions between British subjects and the officials connected with the American custom house on the frontier.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### INSTITUTIONS OF RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

Colonial Revenues, Bye-Laws and Highways—History of the Post Office.

THE annual revenues of the district of Assiniboia are not great, and are derived almost entirely from customs. There is a duty levied on imports amounting to the value of four per cent. on the nett invoice prices of the goods. There are, however, certain exceptions to this rule, in which the articles are allowed to pass duty free. Among the most important of these exceptions are all kinds of stationery, and all articles designed for the Indian missions; bar iron, steel, scientific and agricultural implements, seeds, roots, plants, tombstones, grindstones, stoves, the produce of the chase, and, of course, all articles intended for exportation. Four collectors are appointed to carry out the provisions of the department, whose stations are at Pointe Coupée, the Upper and Lower Fort Garry, the lower extremity of the settlement, on the banks of the Red River; at Upper Fort Garry, the centre of business; and at White Horse Plain, a post situated on the river Assiniboine, at the western extremity of the district, on the grand line of traffic to the plains. The salaries of these officials vary from £20 to £35 per annum. The amount of money raised by government on account of customs in one year may be about £1800. Of the sum of £1816 so collected during the financial year closed on 31st May, 1868, the Hudson's Bay Company paid £708 on the merchandise imported for their trade in the settlement.

There are certain restrictions on the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating liquors in the district of Assiniboia. Instead of the four per cent. duty there is a levy of one shilling per gallon on all fermented and spirituous liquors passing inwards.

Once a year, generally on the first week day of December, qualified magistrates sit for the purpose of granting licenses to distil and retail, applications for which must have been previously made by the parties interested. Such a license costs ten pounds sterling. The sale of quantities of spirits less than five gallons, of wine than five gallons, and of beer than eight gallons, is considered retail dealing. Any person convicted of selling these articles without license is liable to a fine of ten pounds for each offence, one half of which is given to the informer. The license forbids the sale of liquor between the hours of ten o'clock in the evening and six in the morning, on week days, and during all Sundays. These licenses are not readily granted, and applications are often refused. The objection of a majority of his twelve nearest neighbours would be fatal to any candidate for a retail license. It is necessary that licensed persons be landholders.

The sale of liquor to Indians is altogether prohibited under penalties ranging from two to ten pounds sterling for each offence, according to the circumstances of aggravation connected with it; restitution to the Indian of the price paid for the liquor is also required by the law, and the offending parties are liable to imprisonment until the penalty is paid. Although the magistrates are fully determined to carry out this law, it seldom happens that convictions can be obtained. Indians will not be induced to bear witness against those who have obliged them in this matter, and the liquor is generally conveyed to them by third parties who purchase it from the regularly licensed houses and give it to the Indians, who reward them with a present of more or less of the article. Under these circumstances, at times when money is plentiful among them, Indians may frequently be seen lying drunk and incapable on the highways and plains, and any efforts of the magistrates to bring home the offence to the parties guilty of supplying them with liquor, are simply futile. Until about the year 1860, the liquor traffic, except in wholesale quantities, was limited, but of late years the home manufacture and consumption of the article have greatly increased, and, at present, when the hunters visit the settlement with their furs, and at other seasons when money is plentiful, great drunkenness and disorder prevail.

A large amount of the public expenditure is paid for maintaining the roads and bridges of the colony. A public highway, two chains wide, runs from end to end of the settlement, following the general direction of the rivers. Only in certain spots has any attempt been made to improve these roads, though encroachments on the space assigned to them by the proprietors of adjoining fields are jealously guarded against. So far as the track is concerned, it is formed, generally speaking, only by the traffic which wears away the grass and hardens the pathway. In spring, after the snow has been melted, and during wet weather, the roads are bad enough to deserve all I was told about them by the gentleman I met at Georgetown, and of whose narrative I have already given the reader an epitome; for foot passengers they are impassable. Travelling in carriages is a bad system, owing to the weight of mud which clogs the wheels and is thrown up by them in their circuit. Travelling on horseback is the means of locomotion most adopted during the continuance of that season of dirt and desolation which prevails between the unbroken frost of winter and the decided preponderance of spring weather. Some portions of these highways are, however, worse than others, and efforts have been made to improve them by forming stretches of "faggot road," a few hundred feet in length, at those spots, which, from their low level, cause the water to collect and remain upon them. These faggot roads are composed of branches of trees thrown transversely across the track and covered with several feet of earth taken from an excavation running alongside, and acting as a drain.

At various parts of their course these highways are obstructed by ravines, which, in spring, carry off the melting snows to the rivers; here, bridges, constructed of wood, are erected. The whole works are under the charge of responsible superintendents, ten in number, having each his own section assigned him. A sum of money, varying from £5 to £10, is the remuneration of these officials.

Two land surveyors are authorized by council, though without fixed salary, to exercise their profession in the country, and are entitled to a compensation of ten shillings per diem for their services, paid by their employers. They survey lots, fix boundaries,



and arbitrate between the public officials and settlers said to be encroaching on the highways.

The bulk of the transport in the colony is effected with one-horse vehicles; accordingly the roads get into such a state, by the continued passage of wheels over the same tracks, that the driving of a pair of horses is a very troublesome undertaking.

In winter the tracks run principally on the rivers. Thaws are, generally speaking, very rare, and when the snow is tolerably deep, and no storms occur to drive it into snowdrifts, walking and driving are easy and pleasant. One great advantage possessed by the river, as a highway, is that its banks shield the traveller against the icy blasts which blow mercilessly cold across the unsheltered plains.

Before the year 1853, the postal facilities of the colony consisted only of the packets of the Hudson's Bay Company; these were despatched twice a year. One went to York Factory in summer, and, at that place, connected with the ship which came annually from London bringing the goods to be used during the ensuing season for barter with the Indians, and taking back, on her home voyage, the returns of the previous year's trade. The only other opportunity which the Red River people possessed of communicating with the outside world took place during the winter, when the Company's packet went overland to Canada. The return of the latter from Montreal occurred at open water in spring, when canoes manned by Iroquois tripmen came from Lachine, a municipal village, nine miles from Montreal, by way of the River Ottawa and Lake Superior. The starting of this brigade of canoes, surrounded as it was by circumstances of a wild and picturesque character, formed quite an event in the year at Montreal, from which city a crowd of those ever desirous of seeing something new invariably came to witness the start. It was to one of these events that Mr. Moore, the celebrated poet, referred in that beautiful Canadian "Boat song," commencing—

"Faintly as tolls the evening chime."

Mr. Moore had spent some time in Canada, had lived with the "lumbermen" on the Ottawa, and knew the manners of the people well. He has rendered the village of St. Anne, on the Ottawa,

almost as famous by the ballad, in which its name occurs, as he did the "Hall of Tara" in another of his works, only the chapel of St. Anne is, I believe, more of a reality than the famous "Hall."

The arrival of the canoes at Red River after their long journey of about forty days, formed as agreeable a sight to the citizens of Assiniboia surrounded by their untrodden wastes, as the departure so famous in song had been to those of Montreal. The settlers have long become accustomed to the regular receipt of a weekly mail, now constituted a bi-weekly one, but the inhabitants of the inland districts of Rupert's Land are still, as I shall have to tell in the further course of my work, doomed to hear from home at the same long intervals as were the people of Red River in the old times; the circumstances of which it is my present object to describe.

In 1853 a public mail service was first organized by some of the settlers, in prosecution of which postal communication took place once a month between Fort Garry and Fort Ripley in Minnesota, then the most advanced of United States post offices. In 1857 the American Government established an office at Pembina, on the United States frontier, at the point where it is intersected by the Red River, and carried a mail to that place once a month, and more recently once a fortnight. It was met by a courier from the settlement, and brought by him over the seventy miles which intervene between Fort Garry and Pembina. In 1862 the American government having organized a bi-weekly mail system to Pembina, the authorities in the settlement increased their periods of communication to once a week. The expenses of the local Red River mail service are defrayed by a charge of one penny on each letter weighing less than half-an-ounce, one halfpenny on each newspaper, and two-pence on each magazine passing through its office. No local postage stamps exist, and so far as the outside world is concerned, American stamps are used for out-going letters which, as the United States authorities do not recognize the official capacity of our postmaster, are supposed to be posted at Pembina. There is, however, a postmaster in the colony who receives an annual salary of £20. Each trip between the settlement and Pembina both ways occupies between three and four

days, and costs twenty-five shillings in wages paid the runner, who travels on horseback in summer and uses a dog-sledge during the winter months.

Letters and other mail matter are constantly arriving for different individuals employed in the vast territories of the Company in the Northern department. These are received by the Company's agent at Fort Garry, where a regular private post-office exists, in which accounts are kept open with the officers and servants resident inland. At certain seasons packets are dispatched to the various parts of the country, containing the letters and papers which have accumulated for transmission. These packets on their return bring out letters, which after being duly weighed and stamped in the Company's office are forwarded by the local mail for postage at Pembina in United States territory.

Over and above the regulations for the public service in the settlement referred to in this and the preceding chapter, there are other by-laws relating to matters continually in dispute in this as in all places similarly situated on the extreme border where civilized meets savage life. It is forbidden, save under peculiar precautions, to kindle fires which may run over the prairie, burning up the long dry grass and carrying devastation far and wide.

Minute legislation exists as to liabilities for damage done by cattle wandering at large, and as to the ownership of stray animals, horses and others. Hay cutting beyond the limits of two miles back from the river, within which limits is contained the land owned by the settlers, forms an important branch of autumn industry, and is conducted under strict regulations. A premium of five shillings on every large, and two shillings and sixpence on every small wolfe killed within twenty miles of the settlement is still paid from the public funds, though the pressing necessity which once existed for such a measure has long passed away. The laws regarding debt enable a creditor who fears his debtor is about to abscond to some spot beyond the jurisdiction of the local courts, to cause the latter to show grounds for expecting his return within a limited time or give security for his appearance at the next competent court, failing either of which alternatives, to detain his person. There are also laws regarding the advertisement of sales

of immovable property and regarding the attachment of property of absconding debtors. All these have been required on account of the migratory habits of the population, but the sharper intellects of certain "wide awake" strangers come among the unsophisticated settlers of late years have contrived to turn these laws, constructed for the restraint of vulgar rogues, into implements of annoyance to be used against people they wish to coerce. The probability, therefore, is they will ere long disappear from our local statute book as unsuited to the advanced stage of our civilization.

I have now run over all the more decidedly marked peculiarities of the institutions of the colony as established by law. Certain details regarding such subjects as "intestate estates," "marriage licenses," and "contracts for service," I do not enlarge upon as probably they would serve only to encumber my page with uninteresting matter, and should any of them be required to elucidate my story they shall not be wanting in their proper place. Having laid the foundation by stating these things as premises in what appears to me a natural order, I shall proceed, after a further digression of two chapters treating of the two great branches of our colonial ecclesiastical history, to illustrate the practical working of the political institutions referred to in three chapters on the later history and circumstances of the settlement, and a series of articles setting forth the details of public events as they have transpired during my seven years residence in it, to a correct understanding of which I have endeavoured to render the first part of the book preparatory.

## CHAPTER IX.

### HISTORY OF PROTESTANT CHURCH IN RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

Denominations—Church of England—Rev. John West—Church Missionary Society—Rev. David T. Jones, Rev. William Cochran—St. Andrew's—Revds. John Smethurst, Abraham Cowley, and John McCallum—Portage LaPrairie—Death of Archdeacon Cochran—The Episcopate—Bishop of Montreal's visit—Bishop Anderson—Archdeaconate—St. John's School—Bishop Machray—Recapitulation—Parishes of St. John, St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. Clement, St. Peters, St. James, Holy Trinity, St. Ann, St. Margaret, and St. Mary—Parochial Schools—Indian Missions of Rupert's Land—Presbyterian Community—Wesleyans.

HITHERTO four denominations of Christians have had a corporate existence in Rupert's Land—the Established Church of England, the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian and the Wesleyan Churches. Of these the Wesleyans have not, until the present time, existed in Red River Settlement, but have confined themselves to missionary operations in the Indian country, at Norway House, Oxford House and the Saskatchewan.

Previous to the year 1820 no Protestant clergyman had visited the country. An understanding had been arrived at between Lord Selkirk and the original Scotch settlers, that a Presbyterian minister, who spoke the Gaelic language, should be sent out to the settlement for their benefit, but although a selection was made the arrangement was not carried out.

In 1820 the Rev. John West, A.M., came out as chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, and the colonists appear to have accepted his ministry with gratitude. One of his first works was the erection of a rude school-house, and the systematic education

of a few children. The spot selected for the attempt was situated on the western bank of the Red River, about two miles north from its confluence with the Assiniboine. The school-house, which was constructed of wood, served also as a church, while one end was fitted up as a residence for the schoolmaster, Mr. Harbidge, who had come from England along with Mr. West. The latter, in 1822, feeling the necessity of liberal assistance, applied to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society in England, and his representations were supported by the Hudson's Bay Company. So successful were they in securing the assistance of the Society that in 1857 the secretary reported that the distinguished body on whose behalf he wrote, possessed thirteen mission stations in the country, regularly provided with clergymen and catechists, and maintained at an annual cost, including the considerable sums spent in England, of about £6000; while a gross sum of about £50,000 had been expended on the Society's operations in Rupert's Land between the years 1822 and 1857.

For some years the agents of the Society were few and the sums expended comparatively small. Chief among the names of the clergymen who came out previous to the establishment of the episcopate in the country, are those of David Thomas Jones, William Cochran, Abraham Cowley, John McCallum, John Smethurst, Robert James and James Hunter. The principal scene of the labours of all these gentlemen lay within the limits of Red River Settlement, though some of them have travelled far and resided for years in the Indian country.

The Rev. Mr. West having established the temporary chapel already alluded to, returned to England in 1823, after a residence in the colony of three years duration, and was succeeded in his office of chaplain to the Company by the Rev. Mr. Jones. In 1825 the Rev. William Cochran reached Red River and, in the chapel founded by Mr. West, commenced his long term of forty years ministerial work in the country, which, with his life, closed in 1865.

Mr. Cochran is universally regarded in the colony as the founder of the English Church in Rupert's Land, and from the date of his arrival till 1849, when, on the foundation of the

diocese, individuals merge into the body, all the principal ecclesiastical business done may be said to have received its impetus from his personal energy. The church in which he commenced his ministrations, although the temporary building itself has long disappeared, was afterwards known as the "Upper Church," and is now the Cathedral of St. John, being the place of worship attached to the residence of the Bishop of Rupert's Land.

In 1824 the Rev. Mr. Jones had commenced the institution of a place of worship six miles further down the Red River than the Upper Church. The wooden structure which was the result of his efforts, was afterwards called, with reference to its relative position among the others, "the Middle Church," and more recently St. Paul's. The amount of settlement around this focus had become considerable, even at the early period of its foundation. In it and in the Upper Church Mr. Jones and Mr. Cochran continued their work conjointly for one year. In the autumn of 1826, a year memorable in the colony on account of a destructive flood which occurred in it, Mr. Jones returned to England, on a year's leave of absence, Mr. Cochran remaining alone in the settlement.

Some years before this time the process of settlement had been commenced round a spot called "the Grand Rapids," on the banks of the Red River, about twenty-five miles from its mouth, and fifteen miles north from Upper Fort Garry. The number of those who sought a home in this particular locality slowly increased till 1827, when, on the return of Mr. Jones from England, Mr. Cochran shifted his abode to the place and commenced the erection of a parsonage and missionary establishment for the Church Missionary Society. Two churches have since that time succeeded each other there: the first was finished in 1831 and occupied by Mr. Cochran, till his rapidly increasing congregation could no longer find accommodation within its walls, when the construction of a larger one was decided on. Mainly through the instrumentality of the incumbent, who superintended every detail of the work from the management of the subscription lists to the quarrying of the stones and the construction of the building, the finest and most substantial of the Protestant churches of the colony was

finished in time to be consecrated by the first Bishop of Rupert's Land, immediately on his arrival in the country in 1849. It is gratifying to be able to state that about eight-ninths of the cost of the church was defrayed by money and materials contributed by people resident on the spot. It was called the "Lower Church," in reference to the two others above mentioned, and more recently the Church of St. Andrew, being situated in the parish of the same name.

The favourable nature of the ground for agricultural employments, combined with other advantages, peculiar to the locality, not the least of which were the parochial and educational facilities provided by Mr. Cochran, had, as has been already hinted, caused the parish of St. Andrew's at an early date to become the most populous district in the settlement. Comfortable farm houses rose on all the land lots along the river's bank, and the ground stretching away back among the woods was broken up and cultivated in substantially fenced fields. It still continues to be one of the most eligible spots sought after by those desirous of settling in the colony, and supports a thickly settled population, chiefly devoted to pastoral pursuits.

While still one of the ministers of the Upper Church, and during his incumbency of St. Andrew's, Mr. Cochran, anxious to fulfil his mission to the Indians as well as his duties of Parish minister, encouraged some of the wanderers to settle as tillers of the soil at a place distant about twelve miles down the river from his parsonage of St. Andrew's. At this place, which has been since called the "Indian Settlement," or Parish of St. Peter, he in 1836, erected a wooden church for the use of his christianised flock. The building of the edifice Mr. Cochran himself superintended, travelling the twelve miles distance, which separated it from his residence, daily during the term of its construction, and himself aided the workmen with his hands, messing and associating with them during the day. The example of perseverance shown by him in this as in all he undertook, seems not to have been thrown away upon his converts, for the Indian Settlement has increased steadily since its foundation, and its snug houses and successfully farmed fields are still dwelt in and cultivated by a christianised Indian population.



While his more immediate duties confined Mr. Cochran chiefly to the Lower Church, in addition to these, and his supervision of the Indian Settlement, he found time to celebrate divine service regularly in the Middle Church, at a distance of seven miles from his own. In the year 1839 the arrival of the Rev. John Smethurst relieved him from the burden imposed by the exclusive charge of the Indian Settlement, which was the more welcome since, in 1838, the final departure of Mr. Jones for England had imposed on him the entire charge of the parish at the Upper Church, thirteen miles distant from his proper head-quarters. Here, at the Middle and Lower Churches he most regularly and perseveringly attended at the hours arranged to suit his movements, each Sunday till 1841, when the Rev. Abraham Cowley arrived and took charge of the Middle Church, and 1844, when the Rev. John McCallum became incumbent of the Upper one.

In 1846 Mr. Cochran, busy with the arrangement of preliminaries for the building of the second church at St. Andrew's, above described as consecrated by Bishop Anderson, handed over the pastorate of his parish to the Rev. Robert James, and left the country for the space of one year. In 1847 he returned and took up his residence with Mr. McCallum in the parish of St. John's. Here he built a house, afterward called St. Cross, and used as a ladies' school. At the same time his main efforts were directed to the building of the new Lower Church, which, as already mentioned, he managed to have ready for consecration on the arrival of the Bishop in 1849. The death of the Rev. John McCallum, the same year, threw the whole work of the Upper Church again on his hands, but the immediate advent of his Lordship, who at once commenced work as a parish clergyman, relieved him.

In 1850 Mr. Smethurst having quitted the Indian Settlement, Mr. Cochran went permanently to reside, for the first time, among the people he had so heartily befriended from a distance. The undivided labour of such a man could not fail to affect powerfully for good the community brought together by his exertions. The wooden church he had built, while residing at St. Andrew's, gave way to a most substantial stone structure, erected by him in 1854,

which still exists second only to St. Andrew's among the churches in the place, and one of many monuments he has left behind him, most creditable to his perseverance. The church of St. Peter has attached to it a burying ground, surrounded by a substantial stone wall. Within this enclosure the rudely carved *wooden grave stones* bear inscribed on them the strangely sounding names of many savage converts interred under the shadow of this outpost of the Anglican Church.

In 1857 Mr. Cochran, then Archdeacon of Assiniboia, removed from the Indian settlement to a place called Portage La Prairie, situated on the river Assiniboine, about 65 miles from the confluence of that tributary with the Red River, and 90 miles distant from the scene of his labours at St. Peter's. His object in establishing a mission on this new site was to encourage certain bands of savage Indians to follow the example of their brethren at St. Peter's in betaking themselves to agricultural pursuits, as well as to pioneer the way for those of the settlers on the Red River who should wish to take advantage of the superior qualities for cultivation of the ground at Portage La Prairie by removing their residences to the latter place. At least one serious objection existed to this step on the part of the Archdeacon. The land, to settle on which he invited a mixed population, lay about fifteen miles beyond the limits of the municipal district of Assiniboia. The local machinery of Government, therefore, existing within the latter was not available for the protection of a settlement of peaceful and defenceless agriculturists located on ground till then abandoned to the wandering Indian. The difficulties to which such a state of affairs might lead were quite palpable to the eyes of the civil authorities in the country, who drew Mr. Cochran's most serious attention to the inevitable result of his proceedings.

Encouraged, however, by the retrospect of his work in the settlement till that time, the zealous missionary persisted in his undertaking. So far as his ecclesiastical objects were concerned he was successful. A beautifully situated parsonage and church were erected near the banks of the river, the woods fringing which protected them from the keen winds of winter and rendered the vicinity of the mission beautiful in summer. The church was named St. Mary's, and

the congregation which usually met within its walls was composed, besides the civilized settlers in the neighbourhood, of "Plain" and "Swampy" Cree Indians.

After the establishment of a settlement at the Portage sundry individuals commenced farming at isolated spots on the banks of the Assiniboine, between that place and the Red River Settlement. At two points named respectively the "High Bluff" and the "Poplar Point," the number of settlers was so considerable as to induce Mr. Cochran to erect at the former place in 185 a church named St. Margaret's, and another at the Poplar Point called St. Ann's. The services at the two latter places of worship were, during the lifetime of the Archdeacon, chiefly conducted by his son, the Rev. Thomas Cochran, who also superintended the business of the parochial school attached to the Archdeacon's own parish of St. Mary.

With regard to the political aspect of affairs at Portage La-Prairie I regret to have to record that the evil forebodings of the secular authorities have been fully justified by the event. I merely anticipate what I shall have to relate in detail further on in saying that the petty colony has been a source of much disquietude to the magistracy in Red River Settlement of late years; that two instances of murder have already occurred in its history, and that, after an abortive attempt had been made on the part of a section of the inhabitants to organize a private government of their own and to force an oath of allegiance and a customs duty on the general public, the imperial government was memorialised on the subject by the so called "Governor." The result was the arrival of an intimation, addressed to that irregularly constituted functionary, from the colonial secretary, advising him that the course he was pursuing was illegal, and that he and his abettors were incurring what might become a grave responsibility, seeing the British Government could not recognise their authority, which might be legally resisted by any person so minded.

While Archdeacon Cochran himself remained at Portage La-Prairie his great personal influence was sufficient to prevent any of the ebullitions which have taken place since his lamented decease. This event occurred in the autumn of 1865, a few days before the

arrival in the settlement of Doctor Machray, the second and present Bishop of the diocese of Rupert's Land. Mr. Cochran had, in the spring of 1865, given up the charge of the Portage to a near relative of his own, the Rev. Henry George, and had left the country with the full intention of not returning. Arrived in Canada, however, he felt his health failing, and was overmastered by a strong desire to return and end his days in the colony whose early spiritual destinies he had contributed so largely to shape. His sudden and totally unexpected appearance one beautiful autumn evening among the reapers in a field close to his own parsonage astounded and delighted friends who had believed him the instant before his arrival to be in England. Within a month after his return the illness under which he had suffered slightly all the autumn became rapidly more serious and terminated fatally. He was interred in the burial ground of the church of St. Andrew, at the Grand Rapids, where, as will be remembered, he had commenced his church-building works in 1827.

It can be no disparagement to any of the now comparatively numerous clergymen who have sojourned from time to time in Rupert's Land to claim for Archdeacon Cochran a high preëminence of usefulness among them. His forty years residence in the country, the labourious nature of the work he performed, his isolation for a great part of the time from clerical assistance, and the vast amount of charitable expenditure incurred by him in material aid of all kinds conferred on his parishioners, have secured for him a commanding influence among the generation who knew him, and without doubt his memory will continue in high estimation long after that generation shall have disappeared.

In 1838 the late James Leith, Esq., a chief factor in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, bequeathed a sum of about £12,000 expended for the benefit of Indian Missions in Rupert's Land. Leith's family disputed the bequest with his executors, and it was a process of litigation closed in 1849 by Lord Stowell, Master of the Rolls. His Lordship's decision was in favour of an offer voluntarily made by the Hudson's Bay Company, opening that should the sum in dispute be set

apart for the purpose of endowing a Bishopric in Rupert's Land, the Company would add to the interest thereof an annual sum of three hundred pounds sterling, thus rendering the income of the See about £700 per annum. By an order in chancery, this arrangement was carried out, and in 1849 the Diocese of Rupert's Land was established by Letters Patent under the Great Seal.

Until the occurrence of these events the isolated missionary efforts made in Rupert's Land had been entirely under the control of the Church Missionary Societies of England. On one occasion the Bishop of Montreal, at the request of this Society, left the seat of his regular work, and visited the settlement. This happened in 1844, when the Right Reverend Dr. Mountain made a voyage to the Far West. During the period of his visitation he ordained two clergymen. The Rev. Abraham Cowley was admitted into priest's orders, and the Rev. John McCallum was ordained both deacon and priest.

In 1849 the Rev. David Anderson, of Exeter College, Oxford, and more recently tutor of St. Bee's Theological College, Cumberland, was consecrated first Bishop of Rupert's Land in the Cathedral of Canterbury; and in the autumn of the same year his Lordship reached Red River by way of York Factory. He established his head-quarters on the spot where Mr. West had, in 1821, erected the first Mission house built in the territory, and named his church the Cathedral of St. John, and the dwelling house in its neighbourhood, afterwards appropriated to his use, "Bishop's Court." Among his other measures the Bishop instituted an archdeaconate in Rupert's Land, and divided the portion of the settlement under his spiritual rule into parishes.

In 1856 the Bishop returned to England for a year, during which he occupied himself chiefly in raising money for the furtherance of his work in the country, and especially for the construction of a new church in the parish under his own immediate charge. Returning to the scene of his missionary work in 1857, his Lordship resumed the duties of parish clergyman and teacher, which, in addition to the occupations specially appropriate to his high office, were forced upon him by the inadequacy of the mean

at his disposal to evangelize the country. In 1862 he opened the present church of St. John, which may be considered as only the temporary cathedral—the building, considered by itself, being merely an unpretending parish church of moderate size, constructed of stone. In 1864, after an occupancy of fifteen years, the right reverend gentleman finally quitted the settlement, to the great regret of his many attached friends in the country, and on reaching England resigned his charge into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Bishop Anderson was succeeded by the Rev. Robert Machray, Fellow and Dean of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and vicar of Madingley, who arrived in the settlement in October, 1865, and has since that time occupied himself zealously in the prosecution of a variety of schemes of usefulness, the details of which, in so far as they regard the colony, will be related on another page.

The archdeaconate established by Dr. Anderson consists of two appointments, the archdeaconry of Assiniboia and that of Cumberland. The former confers supervision over the missions in Red River Settlement and its neighbourhood, while the latter includes all the church missions in Cumberland and the other northern districts.

The first archdeacon of Assiniboia was Mr. Cochran, who held the appointment till his death in 1865. He was succeeded in his archdeaconry by the Rev. John McLean, of King's College, Aberdeen, and more recently of St. Paul's Cathedral church in the diocese of Huron, London, C.W. Mr. McLean, in addition to his office of archdeacon, was on his arrival at Red River, in 1866, invested with the charge of the cathedral parish and the wardency of the College of St. John. His proceedings in the discharge of the duties attached to these offices will take their place among other topics to be treated of at large in the progress of my book.

The Rev. James Hunter was appointed to the archdeaconry of Cumberland on the creation of that office in 1853. Mr. Hunter arrived in Rupert's Land in 1844, and from that time till 1852, when nominated to the charge of the parish of St. Andrew's, he was engaged among the Indian missions of the interior. In 1865, after a residence of twenty-one years in the country, Archdea-

son Hunter returned to England. He was succeeded by the Rev. Abraham Cowley, of St. Peter's, who holds the office at the present time.

Mr. Cowley's name has been as yet only incidentally mentioned in the course of the present chapter. He came to the country in 1841, and, as has been already mentioned, was invested with priest's orders by Dr. Mountain in 1844. The duties to which he has devoted himself lay, chiefly, during the first fifteen years of his mission, without the settlement, in the Indian country; but, between the years 1857 and 1866, when he became archdeacon, the charge of Mr. Cochran's Indian Settlement of St. Peter's devolved upon him, and he is admitted to have managed it with great success.

Attempts have been made from time to time, with more or less success, to institute educational establishments in the settlement of higher pretensions than the mere parochial day schools. The first of these was made in the year 1833, when, under the patronage of the Rev. Mr. Jones, Mr. John McCallum arrived in the country, and opened a boarding school for the benefit of the families of the officers in the Hudson's Bay service and the better class of settlers. Both girls and boys were admitted, and the establishment gradually achieved a very gratifying success. In 1838, when Mr. Jones left the country, Mr. McCallum succeeded him as the responsible head of the school. Mr. Cochran, who has been already mentioned as preaching weekly at the church adjoining the school buildings between the years 1838 and 1844, took much interest in its success. His weekly visits still live in the remembrance of the old pupils, some of whom yet vividly recollect the very expressions used in his somewhat quaint style of preaching. One of them, now a chief factor in the service, lately gave me a rather grimly ludicrous sample of his remarks.

A "man of all work," attached to the domestic establishment of Mr. Cochran, had come to a bad end in a very deplorable manner. Much addicted to the excessive use of stimulating liquors, he allowed no opportunity to escape of indulging his appetite. Having visited a house in the neighbourhood of St. Andrew's, where a large "brew" was going on, he had drunk an incredible quantity of ale warm from the vat, had returned home drunk, and

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ultimately died from the effects of his debauch. The patience of the master, which had stood proof against the inconveniences induced by many nocturnal returns of his tipsy servitor, from his resorts of business or pleasure, deserted him when the man was in his grave, and on the Sunday after his interment he preached his funeral sermon at the Upper Church in a style apparently intended for the benefit of sundry parishioners, reputed as kindred spirits to the deceased.

Mr. Cochran's description of the circumstances attending the man's death was contained in the following words: "And he poured, and he drank!—and he poured, and he drank! and he danced about like a cock on red hot cinders! and down he plunged into the bottomless pit of Perdition!"

The school attained its greatest prosperity towards the period of the death of Mr. McCallum, when there were more than fifty paying pupils, including girls, educated in it. That gentleman, as already mentioned, was admitted into holy orders by the Bishop of Montreal in 1844, between which period and 1847 the charge of the parish devolved on him, conjointly with that of the school. In 1849 the death of the teacher struck at the root of the prosperity of the establishment. The Bishop of Rupert's Land, on his arrival a few days after the sad event, himself undertook the office of teacher. The multitudinous official duties pressing on him, however, would not permit his giving the same undivided attention to the work which had been given by his predecessor.

In 1855 Bishop Anderson instituted a new plan for conducting the business of the school. A collegiate board was nominated, consisting of some of the leading people in the country, and a new teacher was appointed. The institution was called St. John's College, and the motto, the beautifully appropriate nature of which has been much praised, was selected by the Bishop, "In Thy light shall we see light." The working of the new plan proved, however, unequal to the hopes which had been entertained, and the design was ultimately abandoned for a time. This was not, however, done before a most admirable library had been procured, under the Bishop's supervision, for the use of the establishment.

In 1866 Bishop Machray recommenced the work of his predecessor, under important modifications, and the Ven. Archdeacon McLean, from Canada, undertook the management of St. John's College as warden. He is assisted by the Rev. Samuel Pritchard, who had amalgamated a private scholastic establishment of his own with the new college. The Bishop also personally teaches in the school. The result has been so far eminently satisfactory. A scholarship has been already established under the name of the "Cochran Scholarship," and funds to endow another, to be named the "McCallum Scholarship," are being actively canvassed for. The college is mainly supported by the Church Missionary Society and there seems to be every prospect of a fair future in store for it. Its main object is to educate clergymen for the diocese, and several such, who have already passed through its theological course and received ordination, are now at work in the country.

Since the death of Mr. McCallum the girls' school has been detached from St. John's. Various private parties have, from time to time, opened young ladies schools. Far the most successful of these attempts has been made at St. Andrew's, by Miss Davis, who at present is at the head of a very useful and well-managed establishment of the kind.

Before proceeding further with this chapter I desire to recapitulate shortly what has been advanced in it. A reference to the map will explain the situation of the localities on the Red River, and Bishop Anderson's division of the colony into parishes will supply me with points round which to group the facts.

The cathedral parish of St. John extends five miles down the Red River, commencing from the confluence of that stream with the Assiniboine. The first church raised in the colony was erected in this parish by the Rev. Mr. West, in 1821. The Rev. Mr. Jones succeeded Mr. West in 1823. Under him the original wooden church gave way to one built of stone, opened in 1834. Mr. Jones left on his return to England in 1838. Mr. McCallum, who arrived in 1833, established the above described most successful school in the parish, of which he was also incumbent, between the years 1844 and 1847. Between 1847 and 1850 Mr. Cochran,

who had previously officiated much in the parish of St. John, became its regular minister, and remained so till 1850. In 1849 Bishop Anderson arrived, and, when not occupied in travelling for the benefit of his diocese, acted as parish minister, till his ultimate departure in 1864. The Rev. Thomas Thistlewaite Smith, of the Church Missionary Society, conducted service at St. John's till the arrival, in 1865, of Bishop Machray, who followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, till relieved by Archdeacon McLean, still incumbent. In 1862 the present pro-cathedral was opened by Bishop Anderson on the site of the old church, built in 1834.

Contiguous with the parish of St. John lies that of St. Paul, which extends six miles further down the Red River. A temporary church was first erected in this parish by Mr. Jones, in 1824. Between that date and 1849 service was conducted here chiefly by the incumbents of the neighbouring parishes. In 1844 a second church succeeded the old one, but it was not till 1849 that a regular clergyman, in the person of the Rev. John Chapman, was appointed to the charge. Mr. Chapman continued to hold it till 1864. The incumbency is now held by the Bishop.

Adjacent to St. Paul's lies the parish of St. Andrew's, extending about nine miles further down the Red River. We have already traced the foundation of the first church built in it by Mr. Cochran, in 1827, and the second one also erected by him, on the same site, in 1849. Mr. Cochran was succeeded by the Rev. Robert James in 1846. Mr. James quitted the country in 1851, and the business of the district was attended to by clergymen unattached till the year 1852, when the Ven. Archdeacon Hunter, from Cumberland, received the benefice. Mr. Hunter continued in charge of St. Andrew's till his return to England, in 1865, when he was succeeded by the present incumbent, the Rev. J. P. Gardiner.

Next to St. Andrew's lies the parish of St. Clements or Mapleton, extending five miles in the same direction. Until 1861 this portion of the settlement formed part of the parish of St. Andrew's. In that year a substantial stone church was erected for the use of its people, to the service of which the Rev. Henry Cochran, assistant minister of St. Peter's, was appointed. Mr.

Cochran remained in charge until 1863, after which date the parish was served by the incumbents of St. Andrew's and St. Peter's, until in 1866 the Ven. Archdeacon Cowley was appointed to the charge, which he still retains.

Adjoining St. Clements lies the parish of St. Peter's, called also the Indian Settlement, extending over about six miles in length. The first church erected here was the wooden one built by Mr. Cochran in 1836. In 1839 the Rev. John Smethurst was appointed resident incumbent. He was succeeded in 1850 by the Ven. Archdeacon Cochran, who, in 1854, replaced the old wooden church by the substantial stone one now in use. On the retirement of Mr. Cochran to Portage La Prairie, the Rev. Abraham Cowley went to St. Peter's, and continued there from 1857 till 1866, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Cochran, still in charge.

On the River Assiniboine lie the parishes of St. James, the Holy Trinity, St. Margaret, St. Ann and St. Mary. St. James extends from the upper extremity of the cathedral parish of St. John, at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, for seven miles west along the latter stream. A church was built for the use of this portion of the colony in 1850, and the Rev. William Henry Taylor, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, continued incumbent from the date of its foundation till 1867. A vacancy ensued from the time of Mr. Taylor's return to England till 1868, when the Rev. William Cyprian Pinkham, of St. John's, Newfoundland, and St. Augustin's College, Canterbury, was appointed to the cure.

Next to St. James, along the Assiniboine, succeeds the parish of Headingley or the Holy Trinity. Here a church was erected in 1854, of which the Rev. Griffith Owen Corbett, of the Colonial and Continental Church Society, was incumbent till 1863, when, owing to a deplorable concatenation of events, which it will be my disagreeable business to relate hereafter in detail, Mr. Corbett quitted his profession and the locality in which he had exercised it for eleven years. He was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Cochran, who continued temporary incumbent till relieved by the Rev. James Carrie in 1866. The latter still continues at Headingley.

The remaining three parishes of St. Margaret, St. Ann and St. Mary are those already described as founded by Archdeacon Cochran at the High Bluff, the Poplar Point and the Prairie Portage. In the two former, until 1864, service was conducted by the Rev. Thomas Cochran, son of the Archdeacon. In that year the Rev. John Chapman was appointed resident clergyman for both. On the retirement of Mr. Chapman, in 1866, service was conducted by the Rev. Henry George, of St. Mary's, until, in 1868, the Rev. Gilbert Cook was placed in charge of both.

The parish of St. Mary or the Prairie Portage, was founded by Archdeacon Cochran, as above mentioned, in 1857. After an incumbency of eight years Mr. Cochran resigned his charge to the Rev. Henry George, who, from the date of his arrival in Rupert's Land, in 1854, had been employed among the Indian missions in the interior of the country.

Having thus given a detailed series of facts relating to each parish, I beg to add a few general remarks. Although, for convenience, the division of the ecclesiastical field in the settlement has been made into nominal parishes, yet the whole thing can as yet be regarded only as a series of missions. The great English Church Societies still supply the stipends of the clergy, and it is only since the arrival of the present Bishop, in the end of 1865, that any systematic effort has been made, by the weekly Offertory and otherwise, to raise money in any amount from the residents in the Colony.

The peculiarly situated nature of the settlement, extending in a long line of isolated houses along the banks of rivers, and in no place stretching back any distance on the prairie, renders a succession of churches necessary to bring the opportunity of attending them within the reach of the people. Ten Church of England places of worship, as above described, exist on the banks of the two rivers. Of these eight are within the legally-defined limits of the colony, and are situated, with reference to each other, at distances varying from about five to nine miles. Such distances are not thought great by the settlers, most of whom possess horses.

To each parish is attached one or more parochial day-schools, at which the elementary branches of education are taught by men

specially appointed as schoolmasters, though the resident clergyman always exercises a supervision over this department. The present number of these common parochial schools is fourteen. Sunday schools are also in regular operation. Attached to the Church of England, and distributed among the ten churches above described, there are nearly 700 families, including almost 900 regular communicants.

The maintenance of the fabrics of the churches and schools, the support of the schoolmasters and all other church expenses in the settlement, except the stipends of the clergy, are defrayed from the proceeds of the weekly Offertory, and other local means of collecting money, aided at present by a grant from the Church Missionary Society. This grant, during the current year 1858-9, amounts to £228, and is to be reduced by £57 yearly, until in four years it will be totally withdrawn. The charges above indicated necessitated an outlay during last year of nearly one thousand pounds. The effort then made by the Red River churches towards self support, though labouring under the most discouraging circumstances in consequence of a succession of defective harvests, is so far successful. Not only have the considerable current expenses in the settlement been met, but the Bishop has been enabled from what he has raised throughout the Diocese, with the aid of three thousand dollars from abroad, to invest for various objects a sum represented by nearly ten thousand dollars of the stock of the Dominion of Canada yielding six per cent. Along with the pecuniary effort of which this is the result, there has been an organization of the church after the example of more advanced Colonial Dioceses, and a Synod now meets annually which is composed of the Bishop and clergy of the Diocese, along with lay representatives from the settled parishes.

Of the English societies that have contributed to the support of the country's missions the Church Missionary Society stands apart in virtue of its princely disbursements during nearly fifty years. Clergymen educated through its agency have long been at work in the country. Probably the most conspicuous example of its success exists in the history of the Rev. Henry Cochran of St. Peter's. This gentleman, although bearing the same name, is no

relation of the late Archdeacon Cochran. Standing very high in public estimation on many accounts, he is an instance of the possibility of a man, even under the unpromising conditions imposed by the circumstances of Red River, raising himself from humble beginnings, aided by such means as are provided by the Church Missionary Society. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Colonial and Continental Church Society and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, also deserve favourable mention as aiding in the evangelization of the country.

In the above epitome of clerical work, my design being with the colony of Red River, I have purposely confined myself to a consideration of the Church of England missions in the settlement. I must not, however, omit to state that, for many years there has been a gradual extension of the mission work in the interior of the Diocese, which contains an Indian population numbering from 70,000 to 80,000 souls. Among these, at the present time, the chief work of the church lies.

Of the twenty-four clergymen in the whole Diocese of Rupert's Land, nine are engaged in collegiate and parochial duty in the settlement. The other fifteen are labouring, assisted by the catechists and schoolmasters, in the interior of that vast region, which may be said to extend almost from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

One clergyman, stationed in the distant east, at Moose Factory on James' Bay, visits in the district under his charge as far north as Whale River, on the eastern shore of Hudson's Bay. Another, at the opposite extremity of the Diocese, in the far North West, is stationed at the Youcon, a post in Russian America, now called Alaska, on the confines of the Arctic Circle. The distance of Moose from the Bishop's head-quarters at Red River is about 1100 miles, and that between the Youcon and the settlement, nearly 3000 miles. These at present form the out-posts of the Diocese. The other mission stations are scattered between them at long intervals.

Large bodies of Christian Indians are connected with many of these central points. This fact may perhaps be best realized by



considering the large numbers confirmed by the bishops in their periodical visitations. Bishop Anderson reported 110 as the number confirmed by him in 1850 at Devon Mission, which stands in Cumberland District on the River Saskatchewan. Here, and at Stanley Mission, situated on Rapid River in the district of English River, the same prelate in 1853 confirmed 115, while in 1852 he confirmed 130 at Moose. The two former stations are established on the high route of travel to the Northern districts. Bishop Anderson, besides the above, held large confirmations at Fairford and elsewhere.

The present Bishop, Dr. Machray, has already made three visitations of missions in the interior, of which he has published accounts. The first of these journeys, which he undertook in the early months of 1866, occupied seven weeks, and was performed in a carriage drawn by dogs. In the course of his progress on this occasion, his Lordship confirmed 155 individuals at twelve different places. In his second voyage, during the summer of 1866, the Bishop visited York Factory, which is about 700 miles from the settlement, confirming fifty-five persons. On his third tour, undertaken in the summer of 1868, he visited the missions in the Moose district, round James' Bay. Reaching Michipicoton on the northern shore of Lake Superior by the United States route, the Bishop started thence on a canoe journey, involving a circuit of more than 1300 miles, confirming eighty-seven persons at Rupert's House, eighty-five at Albany and forty-three at Moose.

His Lordship, in passing through Canada and the United States on his return from Moose to Red River at the close of this visitation, attended the General Convention of the American Church held in 1868, at New York, and delivered an address to the House of Bishops, which was reported for the "Standard of the Cross," from which I beg to quote a short extract.

The extreme distance between Red River and the posts in the district of McKenzie River, along with the peculiar circumstances of their Diocese, have prevented the bishops of Rupert's Land from visiting their missions in that isolated region; but the extract just alluded to may show that the most distant of all the Missions under their charge, that at the Youcon, is not the least interesting or successful.

It describes the missionary attached to the station as going out for many days, often with snowshoes, "to meet the wandering lodges of Indians, meeting now fifty, now sixty, again perhaps seventy Indians. He abides with them, living as their guest in their humble lodges, helping them in search for food, and day by day teaching them, catechising, leading them to the Saviour, and guiding them towards an imitation of His holy principles and practice. During three years he had baptized a hundred and fifty adults each year." The Indians here referred to, until the cession of Russian America to the United States, lived on the verge of the dominions of the Czar of all the Russias.

Of the Church of England clergy, eleven are natives of Rupert's Land, and these, with one exception, are more or less of Indian descent, and speak some or other of the Indian languages. An arrangement has now been made for the education of promising Indian-speaking youths by some of the missionaries in the interior, and the completion of their education for the Mission work at St. John's College. The Church Missionary Society is prepared at present to support six scholars of this class at St. John's College.

The Scotch emigrants have always alleged that Lord Selkirk had, when arranging with them in Sutherlandshire the terms on which they should quit Scotland for Rupert's Land, promised them the benefit of the ministrations of a Presbyterian clergyman. The Rev. Donald Sage, son of the incumbent of the parish of Kildonnan, whence the majority of the settlers had come, was the gentleman to whom the appointment was offered. It was arranged that Mr. Sage should, however, be permitted to pass a year in Scotland with the object of perfecting his knowledge of the Gaelic language. As a temporary expedient an elder in the Scotch Church, named James Sutherland, being of the emigrants, was invested by Lord Selkirk with authority to marry and baptise in the colony until the arrival of a regularly ordained clergyman.

Lord Selkirk, during his visit to Red River Settlement in 1817, convened the colonists and set apart two lots of land, in exchange for which he conferred others of similar value on the settlers who had previously occupied them, one of them being designed for the

church and the other for a school-house. Leaving matters at this stage, Lord Selkirk returned to England, but, on his way through Canada, was detained there by legal business of a very complicated and harassing character, rising out of the events in which he had borne a part in the course of his trip to Red River during the previous year. It is probable that the multitudinous and important affairs in which he was involved caused his Lordship temporarily to lose sight of the spiritual necessities of his Scotch dependents, which he doubtless thought he had placed in safe hands when he advised his Red River agent, Mr. Pritchard, specially to look after them. Lord Selkirk, on his return to England was, in consequence of bad health, compelled to detach himself from business and travel on the continent, where in 1821 he died in Switzerland.

As above related, the Rev. Mr. West of the Church Missionary Society came to Red River in 1820, and commenced duty as a minister of the English Church in a chapel or school-house built by the settlers on the ground set apart for the purpose by Lord Selkirk. The inability of the clergyman to speak the Gaelic language, and the use of the book of Common Prayer, were the objections raised by the colonists against the ecclesiastical system thus introduced. The former difficulty was insuperable, while, in deference to the latter objection, the successive clergymen who sojourned among them made such concessions to what they saw to be the conscientious prejudices of the Presbyterian members of their flock, as might perhaps have drawn on them the censure of "Churchmen" strictly so called. In 1834, the original wooden church having fallen into ruin, a second was built, as already mentioned, from funds contributed by the congregation, aided by the Hudson's Bay Company.

In 1844 certain leading colonists applied to the Company, requesting that corporation to send them a Presbyterian clergyman and to contribute towards his support. In furtherance of this claim, among other reasons, they alleged the above-recorded verbal promise of Lord Selkirk. The Company replied that, when the colony had been re-transferred to them by Lord Selkirk's executors in 1836, no mention had been made of any such stipulation

as that alleged. The Presbyterian party then forwarded to London two affidavits, the first of which stated that in Scotland the verbal promise in question had been made by Lord Selkirk, while the second detailed the circumstances under which it had been confirmed in the colony. The Company, however, refused to recognize the promise as having special reference to a minister of the Presbyterian religion.

The petitioners then applied to the Free Church of Scotland. The Rev. Dr. Brown of Aberdeen, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church, and the Rev. John Bonar of Renfield Free Church, Glasgow, Convener of the General Assembly's Colonial Committee, used their best efforts to meet the wishes of their Red River friends. But, after three years exertions, Dr. Bonar, in 1849, stated that none to whom he had applied "had seen it his duty to accept." He hoped, however, his further efforts would be more successful.

An application was then made to the Company for the transfer of the church and lands from the possession of the Episcopalian party to that of the Presbyterians. The rival claims were finally adjusted in 1851, when the Hudson's Bay Company, in order to settle this "vexed question," made over to the Presbyterian community a lot of ground situated in a central locality, named the Frog Plain, along with a sum of £150 sterling.

The Presbyterian body, then, may be said to have received its organization in the settlement in 1851. The responsibility of obtaining a minister had been transferred from the Church in Scotland to the Presbyterian Church of Canada, and, after some negotiations had been satisfactorily completed, the Rev. John Black came to the colony, and a manse, erected in 1851, was occupied as a church until, on 5th January, 1854, a building for the purpose was opened.

About 300 of the Scotch population, chiefly composed of the survivors and descendants of Lord Selkirk's settlers, on the arrival of Mr. Black, separated themselves from the Church of St. John, then under the immediate pastoral charge of the Bishop of the Diocese, who, it will be remembered, had come to the settlement in 1849. Much as the separation was regretted of so considerable

a body from the establishment with which they had been connected for thirty years, it is surely much to the credit of the Scotch population that, barring the Company's grants above specified, along with an annual donation of fifty pounds to the incumbent as Presbyterian chaplain, their unpretending stone church, seated for 500 people, has been built at a cost of £1050, and its ministers salaried by his flock, while the good fortune of the latter, in securing the services of such a man as Mr. Black, has been commensurate with the spirit evinced by their enterprise. A parochial school is attached to the Presbyterian Church.

In 1853 a church was erected by this communion at Little Britain, about fourteen miles further down the Red River than that at Frog Plain, at which, alternately with the latter, divine service was celebrated on Sunday afternoons, once a fortnight, till, in 1862, the arrival from Canada of the Rev. James Nisbet to assist Mr. Black, enabled the Presbyterian community at Little Britain to enjoy a weekly service. In 1866 Mr. Nisbet went to found a mission on the Saskatchewan, and was succeeded by the Rev. Alexander Matheson, who, on his departure to Canada, in 1868, was replaced by the Rev. William Fletcher.

In 1866 a church was built at Headingley, and one in the village of Winnipeg in 1868. At present the Presbyterian communion in the settlement possesses three organized congregations, at Kildonnan, (Frog Plain), Little Britain, and Headingley; along with four preaching stations, at Winnipeg, Poplar Point, High Bluff, and the Prairie Portage, respectively.

In 1868 the Wesleyan body deputed a clergyman of no mean order—the Rev. George Young—to represent them in the settlement. This gentleman, while making the village of Winnipeg his head-quarters, conducts services at regular intervals of time in various widely-separated parts of the colony, and exercises a supervision as “Chairman” over all the missions of his church in Rupert's Land.

The Church of England having erected a subsidiary parochial chapel in Winnipeg, that village is now fully supplied with places of worship; and the Venerable Archdeacon McLean, the Rev. Mr. Black, and the Rev. Mr. Young, hold services in their respec-

tive edifices each Sunday. Mr. Young holding a morning, Mr. Black an afternoon, and the Archdeacon, an evening service. All are, I believe, well attended.

The Settlement at Red River, and the Territory of Rupert's Land, which are now, generally speaking, apparently in a transition state, will probably in a few years be much altered. The edifices spoken of in this chapter may be superseded by others, and but a faint remnant left of the arrangements which have prevailed hitherto. But, on the whole, within the bounds of the colony, and in many places beyond them, the labours of a material character which have been undertaken by the first missionaries, will form a groundwork for their successors, who may naturally expect, in benefitting by establishments built for them by the former, to have greater leisure to attend to the more purely spiritual part of their duty than their predecessors possibly could have.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Travelling Priests—Rev. J. N. Provencher—Episcopate—First resident Priests—Oblats de Marie l'Immaculée—Bishops Provencher, Taché, Grandin, and Faraud—Burning of Cathedral of St. Boniface—Present State of Church in the Colony.

THE reputation of the labours of the French priests in Canada is doubtless familiar to the ears of many people in Great Britain, whose knowledge of the difficulties to be encountered in travelling through unexplored wastes, exposed to the rigour of ungenial climates, is confined to what has been gathered from books. The general idea of the privations undergone is fully justified by the reality, and the details of camp life, highly curious and interesting to the novice, soon render themselves monotonously familiar through daily experience.

My chief authority for the facts to be set forth in the present chapter, is a semi-official publication entitled "Vingt années de Mission dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique," by the Right Rev. Doctor Taché, the present Bishop of St. Boniface. This is a pamphlet consisting of a series of letters, not, when they were composed, intended for publication, addressed by the Bishop to the Canadian Provincial Superior of the religious order to which he belongs. The book has been published at the request of Monseigneur Bourget, Bishop of Montreal, and has met with a very favourable reception in Canada. To those familiar with the localities and the people mentioned in it, the work possesses a high interest; as an exhaustive treatise on the subject of Rupert's Land Catholic Missions, it appears to be very complete; and as an authority coming from the prelate at the head of the operations whose progress it describes, it is of course unimpeachable.

In point of time the first Christian priest who ever visited Rupert's Land was the Rev. Père Messenger. He arrived in 1731, travelling with the party under command of a Lower Canadian Seigneur, named the Sieur Varennes de la Vérandrye. This gentleman was the first traveller who explored the regions to the west of Lake Superior. In 1731 he was engaged on the first of the two expeditions he undertook to the Rocky Mountains. The priest who accompanied his party seems to have been merely its travelling chaplain, and did not attempt to settle in the country. He belonged to the order of Jesuits.

In 1736 a party of voyageurs, under the command of one of the sons of M. de la Vérandrye, was accompanied by another Jesuit priest named Père Arneau. This party, while camped on an island in a lake named the Lac de la Croix, a short distance west from Lake Superior, was attacked by a band of Sioux, who massacred them, the priest being among the number killed.

The first serious attempt made by the Church of Rome to establish itself in the country was commenced in 1818, when the Rev. Joseph-Norbert Provencher and the Rev. Sévère Dumoulin arrived at Red River. The former died thirty-five years afterwards, Bishop of the missions he had founded, while the latter remained only six years in the colony. On their arrival the bulk of their more civilized flock consisted of French Canadians and disbanded soldiers of the De Meuron regiment, chiefly Germans. A church and mission house were erected at a spot called St. Boniface, on the eastern bank of the Red River, opposite to its confluence with the Assiniboine.

In 1822 the Rev. J. N. Provencher was consecrated Bishop of Juliopolis *in partibus infidelium*, and invested as auxiliary to the Bishop of Quebec, with authority over those parts of the diocese of the latter, known under the names of the Hudson's Bay and North West Territories.

I may here mention, parenthetically, it is the custom of the Roman Catholic Church to provide titles for Bishops located by it in regions not yet regularly divided into dioceses, from places in the East, chiefly in Asia Minor. Prelates so situated are said to be "*in partibus infidelium*." The title of Juliopolis, conferred



on Bishop Provencher, is derived from the name of a town in Galatia, under the Metropolitan See of Ancyra.

On 16th April, 1844, the Holy See, formally detached from the Diocese of Quebec and erected into a separate Apostolic Vicariate the regions under the spiritual oversight of Bishop Provencher. These nominally extended over the territory elsewhere described as the Diocese of Rupert's Land. It is, however, only since 1845 that great practical efforts have been put forth by the priesthood to bring the mass of the Indians under the power of ghostly influences. Between the date of his consecration and that of the isolation of his charge from the See of Quebec, the Bishop of Juliopolis was assisted in his operations by twelve priests, whose names, accompanied by the dates of their arrival in and departure from the country, I beg here to put on record.

I. Sévère Dumoulin .....	1818	1824
II. Th. Destroismaisons .....	1820	1827
III. Jean Harper.....	1822	1832
IV. Fr. Boucher.....	1827	1833
V. G. A. Belcourt .....	1831	1859
VI. Charles Edouard Poiré .....	1832	1839
VII. Jean Baptiste Thibeault .....	1833	1868
VIII. M. Demers.....	1837	1838
IX. Joseph A. Mayrand.....	1838	1845
X. Joseph E. Darveau .....	1841	1844
XI. L. Lafèche.....	1841	1856
XII. Joseph Bourassa.....	1844	1856

Of the above named gentlemen the Rev. Mr. Thibeault, in 1842, travelled westwards. He was the first priest to visit the Saskatchewan valley and the English River District. In the former he founded the Mission of Ste. Anne in 1843, and in the latter the stations of Red Deer Lake (called Notre Dame des Victoires) and Ile à la Crosse (St. Jean Baptiste), in 1845. After ten years spent in Indian labours Mr. Thibeault, in 1852, settled down to parochial duty in the Red River parish of St. François Xavier, and has since been nominated Vicar General of the Diocese. Only a few days before the date at which I write, the

old missionary quitted Red River for Canada, not, I believe, to return.

M. Demers is at present Bishop of Vancouver's Island, while the Rev. Mr. Darveau was drowned in the spring of 1844 while on his way to visit a post under his charge. The other gentlemen named, after residing in the territory between the dates noted, departed without accident.

At the close of his connection with the Diocese of Quebec, the Bishop of Juliopolis, thrown more than ever on his own resources, thought it necessary to secure assistance of a more effective kind than had till that time been afforded him, and after some consideration he determined to apply at the proper quarters, requesting the aid of priests attached to one of the religious orders of his church.

In the year 1816, the Right Rev. Charles Joseph Eugene de Mazénod, Bishop of Marseilles, founded an order called that of the "Oblats de Marie l'Immaculée." The Bishop himself continued head of the order until his death in May, 1861. Each priest, when he becomes a member, takes the vows of poverty, chastity, obedience, and perseverance. The object of the labours of the votaries, as may be gathered from the motto selected by its founder as that of his order, "Evangelizare pauperibus misit me," is chiefly the instruction of the poor and destitute. The Indian missions established by its agents receive a large share of the attention of its chiefs, and Monseigneur Taché attributes the growing extent of its influence very much to the amount of care bestowed by the association on its Indian missionary operations. In 1841 this order first established itself in Canada, and to its superior there Bishop Provencher, in 1844, applied for men to assist him in working his missions.

Early in 1845 the Rev. Père Guigues, provincial of the Oblats in Canada, replied to the request of the Bishop of Juliopolis, by sending to his aid the Rev. Père Aubert, accompanied by Frère Alexandre Taché, then a novice of the order. After their arrival at Red River, Père Aubert was nominated vicar general of the diocese, while Frère Taché was admitted by ordination of Bishop Provencher into the ranks of the priesthood, and through the

agency of Père Aubert, having finished his noviciate, was received into the order of the Oblats.

In 1844 some sisters of charity belonging to the order known in Canada as the Grey Nuns, or "Filles de Madame de Youville," first came to the diocese of St. Boniface. Their number was re-enforced by two young ladies belonging to the same sisterhood who arrived by the canoes bringing Père Aubert and Mr. Taché. Since that time their numbers have been constantly increasing, and the amount of charitable work done by them has been very great.

To obtain anything like a correct view of the extent of the field of labour occupied in Rupert's Land by the Catholic priesthood, Red River Settlement must sink far into the background, and the attention be turned towards the vast uninhabited wastes of the interior, where the savages, whose only homes are in their tents, lead a migratory life, wandering in search of wild animals. To the object of gaining a hearing from these people have the exertions of the members of the Society of Mary been turned undeviatingly since the arrival, in 1845, of the two pioneers of what has since become a well organized corps. In various parts of the territory have comfortable mission stations been erected after the expenditure of much trouble and hard labour; but the enthusiastic builders of these houses are ever on the move, and must be described as belonging to a class of men who at the first intimation of expediency in prosecution of their designs, are quite as willing to take up their abode for a longer or shorter time in the vermin-haunted wigwam, as in the comfortable residences their persevering exertions have raised for them.

Their success in gaining the Indian ear has so far apparently been very considerable. The standard of knowledge requisite in a savage candidate for baptism, except in the cases of dying people and infants, includes an acquaintance with the decalogue, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles Creed, along with the Ave Maria and other prayers more commonly used in the church. The attainment of a satisfactory perception of the meaning of these forms usually requires a space of two years in the case of roving Indians. When the candidate is in constant communication with a priest, however, the necessary knowledge can of course be

obtained in a much shorter time. The missionaries scattered up and down the country, from year to year appoint places of rendezvous with their proselytes, who seem punctually to attend as agreed on, and receive renewed instruction with docility. When occasion calls for such a step, the priest also travels with his flock and mixes with them in their unsettled mode of life. The sacerdotal influence is exercised only in a secondary manner in trying to persuade the Indian to relinquish his roving life and settle down to agricultural pursuits, and the migratory life is largely accepted as the one best suited to the genius of the race, and yet not inconsistent with the practice of the Christian virtues. The existing state of matters gives the pastor more trouble, and loads him with more serious inconveniences than might fall to his lot under another régime; but privations are matters very immaterial in the eyes of the men whose efforts I am endeavouring to trace.

Between the years 1844 and 1850 the Bishop of Julipolis alone conducted the episcopal business of his diocese; but in the latter year a coadjutor and successor was appointed with the title of Bishop of Arath in the person of Père Taché above mentioned. In 1851, at the request of the new Bishop, the name of his diocese was altered from that of the "North West" to that of St. Boniface—the latter having been from the earliest period of the mission the name of the Cathedral parish of the diocese.

On 7th June, 1853, the Right Rev. Bishop Provencher died in his palace at St. Boniface, and was succeeded, as previously arranged, by his coadjutor, Monseigneur Taché, who since that time has been known by the title of Bishop of St. Boniface.

On 10th December, 1857, the Rev. Père Vital Grandin, was by a papal bull of that date, formally nominated coadjutor and successor to Bishop Taché under the title of Bishop of Satala. After his consecration, which took place in France in 1859, the new dignity took up his head-quarters at Ile à la Crosse, where Doctor Taché had chiefly resided during the lifetime of his predecessor, Bishop Provencher. Ile à la Crosse is situated in the heart of the Indian country, and has always been regarded as a convenient station for the coadjutor's residence.

The enormous extent of territory included within the limits of

the Diocese of St. Boniface, rendered the supervision exercised even by its two bishops, how favourably situated soever they might be, of a very unsatisfactory character. Impressed with the conviction that an extension of the episcopate would be highly beneficial to his charge, the Bishop of St. Boniface drew up a petition to the Sovereign Pontiff requesting that his diocese should be divided, and while he retained the southern part that another bishop should be appointed to the oversight of the northern one. The proposed boundary between these divisions was a place called Methy Portage or Portage La Loche, being the spot where the route of travel to the far north intersects the watershed between the rivers falling into Hudson's Bay, and those which discharge into the Arctic Ocean. The result of this arrangement would be that the portion of Rupert's Land draining into the Arctic Sea, consisting of what a Hudson's Bay man would call the Mackenzie River and Athabasca Districts, would have a resident bishop of its own, while the portion draining into Hudson's Bay would have the benefit of the supervision of Bishop Grandin, resident near its northern boundary, and of Bishop Taché, whose head-quarters at Red River are at its southern extremity. The address drawn up by the Bishop of St. Boniface recommending the adoption of these measures was countersigned by the Archbishop of Quebec and his suffragans, and carried to Europe by its author, the chief object of whose journey was to advocate the execution of his scheme. It was favourably received, and on the 13th of May, 1862, the formal documents were executed at Rome which provided for the carrying out of the arrangements. Arthabaska and Mackenzie River districts were constituted an Apostolic Vicariate, and the Rev. Père Faraud was nominated vicar, under the title of Bishop of Anemour.

A glance at the map will show that, considerable as is the provision above described, the number of Episcopal overseers in the country is not too great for the purposes they are intended to serve. Each of the dioceses is of enormous extent, and the available means of locomotion are rude, and their exercise labourious. The examination of affairs not strictly connected with Red River Settlement is an undertaking foreign to my purpose in

writing this work ; but the subject now under discussion has its points of interest for many people, and it is surely not undesirable that the nature and dimensions of the machinery should be known, by means of which the agents of the Catholic church are at present very effectually endeavouring to bring the Indian races of Rupert's Land within her fold.

I shall now take a glance at the personal history of the four distinguished men who have hitherto exercised the functions of Roman Catholic bishops in Rupert's Land.

The Right Rev. Joseph Norbert Provencher, as above mentioned, came to the settlement in the capacity of priest in 1818. He was consecrated Bishop of Juliopolis in 1822, and from that time till 1853 resided in the country, occupying himself with works of charity, and the principal direction of the important interests committed to his charge. He built a cathedral and a house attached to it, used as a residence for himself and his priests. The cathedral is said to have looked remarkably well when seen from a distance, its two spires one hundred feet high towered high over the prairie, and were provided with a chime of bells, whose sound is described as having been of singular melody. This interesting relic was destroyed by fire in 1860.

The memory of Bishop Provencher is held in high respect by all who knew him in the country. His personal appearance, always imposing, became venerable with age. His successor, in commenting on his character, mentions his self-abnegation, which exhibited itself in the studied obedience rendered by him to the Bishop of Quebec, during the twenty-two years of his episcopate, in which, from the position of his diocese, he was auxiliary to the latter prelate. It came out also in the great simplicity of his personal habits. The bishop's parishioners remember him with gratitude on account of the charities exercised towards them during his long residence among them, while the general public speak of that "godness" conspicuous in his character, which quality he shared very highly in common with a great many members of that exalted class to which he belonged.

His successor, Doctor Taché, came to the country as a priest in 1845, and, after receiving ordination at the hands of Bishop Pro-

vencher, went to act as a simple missionary in the interior of the diocese. His head-quarters were at Ile à la Crosse, a station first regularly commenced by himself, although visited during the year previous to his arrival by the Rev. M. Thibeault, who had baptized three hundred Indians. Père Taché arrived there in 1846, and remained on the spot, more or less, until in 1854 he removed his residence to the head-quarters of his diocese at Red River. During the eight years of his residence inland, he had occupied himself much with building operations, founding mission houses and churches at different points, where it was considered desirable to locate them. He travelled a great deal and mixed much with the Indians. A detailed list of his journeys undertaken at various intervals to places, the names of which are unknown, save to those familiar with the country, would only weary the reader. In common, however, with all the priests of his church in the diocese, he every year made long circuits, visiting the native tribes, and doing a vast amount of work, which, although unobtrusively performed and, from its nature, difficult to describe in detail, was real and productive of much fruit. Having, on the 14th June, 1850, been appointed coadjutor and successor to the Bishop of Juliopolis, under the title of Bishop of Arath, Monseigneur Taché went to Europe in 1851. He was appointed, by Bishop Mazénod, the superior general in Red River of the Order of Oblats, and on the 23rd November, 1851, was consecrated Bishop of Arath in the cathedral of Viviers by Guibert, Archbishop of Tours, and Mazénod, Bishop of Marseilles.

After having paid a short visit to Rome, Bishop Taché returned, *via* Red River, to Ile à la Crosse, where he arrived on the 10th September, 1852. The death of Bishop Provencher having constituted him bishop of St. Boniface, he, on the 3rd November, 1854, arrived and took possession of his cathedral church at Red River. Since that period, though regarding St. Boniface as his head-quarters, Doctor Taché had made several long tours in various directions. In 1855, along with his coadjutor, Bishop Grandin, he revisited Ile à la Crosse. Anxious to carry out certain schemes whereby a depot for the use of his northern missions might be erected at Lac la Biche, he, early in 1856, explored a new route

between that lake and Athabasca district, the difficulties of which he found to have been greatly exaggerated. The object of the exploration was to ascertain definitely that a practical route existed between the site of the proposed depot and the posts which were to receive their supplies from it. After a journey of seven days and two nights from Lac la Biche, the Bishop had completed his voyage, through the imperfectly known regions, and found himself safe among his Athabasca missions. He then returned to Red River, where he arrived towards the close of August.

His next mission of importance was on the negotiation which led to the appointment of Doctor Grandin as his coadjutor and successor. In prosecution of this business he visited Canada and France, returning to Red River, after having brought it to a successful issue, in 1857. Between that year and 1861 the Bishop's journeys were confined to the interior of his diocese. During his protracted absence on a voyage to the western extremity of the Saskatchewan valley, which he made in 1860, his cathedral and palace at St. Boniface were completely destroyed by fire. In 1861 he visited Europe with the double purpose of raising money for the restoration of his establishment, and arranging the preliminaries for the above described division of his diocese, and the appointment of Bishop Faraud as chief pastor of its northern section. In 1862 he returned to the settlement, and in the following year took part at the meeting of the third Provincial council of his church, held in Canada. In 1864, he started on a grand tour through his diocese, on the greater part of which he was accompanied by the Rev. Père Vandenberghe, a visiting inspector sent out from France, and occupying a very high position in the Order of the Oblats. The bishop and his distinguished companion returned to St. Boniface in February, 1865. In 1867 the Bishop of St. Boniface was one of those prelates who assembled at Rome on the occasion of the celebration of the eighteenth centenary of the martyrdom of St. Peter.

The promotion of Doctor Taché to the important position he fills was, of course, due to his meritorious personal qualities. It was not, however, without great propriety on other grounds than personal fitness that he was invested with high position in this



country. A near relative of the late Sir Etienne Pascal Taché, Premier of Canada, he was closely connected by family ties with official men in the Province, and among the rest, was by collateral relationship a member of the family of the Sieur Varennes de la Verandrye who claimed to be the first civilized man to discover Lake Winnipeg, the River Saskatchewan and many other places of note in the Diocese of St. Boniface.

Père Vital Grandin arrived at St. Boniface from France in August, 1854. In 1855 he proceeded to Athabasca accompanied by Bishop Taché, and after the tour of discovery connected with the Lac la Biche Depot had been accomplished by the latter, returned along with him to Ile à la Crosse. In 1857 he was appointed coadjutor, and on 30th November, 1859, was consecrated Bishop of Satala in the temporary cathedral of Saint Martin at Marseilles by Bishop Mazénod. Notwithstanding the extremely low state of his health Dr. Grandin returned to Ile à la Crosse in 1860, and in 1861 proceeded on a tour to Mackenzie River District. Here he founded a depot at a place named by him "Providence," with a view to its becoming the residence of the new bishop whom it was then proposed to nominate. After penetrating as far as Fort Norman, Bishop Grandin returned to Ile à la Crosse, where he arrived in 1864, after a residence of three years in the extreme north. In 1867 he accompanied Bishop Taché to Rome, whence he has since returned and is now actively engaged on the work to which he has devoted his life.

On 9th November, 1846, Frère Faraud first arrived at St. Boniface. In May of the following year, after having passed the grade of sub-deacon, he was ordained priest by Bishop Provencher. In the autumn of the same year he was appointed to accompany the "Plain hunters" on their fall trip, thus occupying a position offering many opportunities of usefulness. In 1848 he went inland to Ile à la Crosse, and the next year proceeded to Athabasca, where he took up his permanent residence at the Mission of the Nativity, situated at the western extremity of Athabasca Lake and founded by Mgr. Taché, the first priest who ever penetrated into Athabasca, in 1847. In 1851 Père Faraud was appointed a member of the Vicarial Council of Bishop Taché on his invest-

ment with the dignity of Bishop of Arath. In 1852 he founded an establishment on Great Slave Lake called St. Joseph's Mission, at which he remained during the greater part of his time till, on the completion of the arrangements above described, he was appointed bishop of the united districts of Athabasca and Mackenzie River. On 30th November, 1863, Doctor Faraud was consecrated Bishop of Anemour by Archbishop Guibert in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Tours. In 1865 he took possession of his northern diocese in which Bishop Grandin had already, as above narrated, spent some years and given an impetus to the work. Bishop Faraud has since 1865 confined himself to his own diocese.

Some details concerning travelling and mission episodes in the country are inserted in the appendix. They are copied with permission of the author from Bishop Taché's work above mentioned.

The most serious calamity which has yet befallen the Catholic missions in the country was the burning of the old cathedral of St. Boniface and the house attached thereto, which took place on 14th December, 1860, during the absence of the bishop on a tour to the far west. The conflagration arose from an accident which occurred in the kitchen of the palace, whereby some tallow, then being used for the manufacture of candles, took fire. In a very short space of time the whole building was burnt up. A blind man named Ducharme maintained on the establishment by the missionaries, having lost his way amid the heat and confusion, was burned to death. A priest named Goiffon, who had a short time previously, through exposure to the frost while on a journey, received such injuries as necessitated the amputation of his right leg and left foot, was in bed inside the house when the alarm was raised. He was at once carried out, and through the unremitting attention of his sorely tried friends was so provided for that he survived the vicissitudes of that disastrous December day. The occupants of the house lost every thing they possessed save the clothes they wore. Some property might have been saved through the exertions of the crowd which soon assembled on the spot, but knowing that some gunpowder was stored in a

part of the house to which the flames would soon penetrate, the priests would not permit the people to risk themselves within the building.

This check has, however, through the ability of the bishop, been turned almost into a benefit, for a much superior church has been raised on the site of the old one, and the handsome and commodious stone dwelling house which has replaced the other is, in more than the mere name, a palace.

Besides the main establishment at St. Boniface, which consists of cathedral, palace, college and convent, there are six subsidiary chapels in the settlement, at two of which, named St. Norbert and St. François Xavier, there are resident priests and nuns. The latter every where occupy themselves with great effect chiefly in teaching children and nursing the sick. In the convent at St. Boniface there are now educated forty young ladies, of whom twenty-one are boarders, while in the same establishment there is an orphanage at present consisting of forty girls maintained by the Grey Nuns. The college kept by the priests and brothers of the Order of Oblats is attended by forty boys, boarded at the establishment, and thirty day scholars. The course of study is carefully marked out with reference to the probable career of the pupil in after life.

In all the seven parishes organised in the settlement belonging to the Catholic communion, there are about three-thousand regular communicants, of whom about six hundred attend the Cathedral of St. Boniface. The other churches are comparatively small and scantily attended, but the crowd which draws together from all quarters to hear the service celebrated on Sundays and holy days at the cathedral is very large, and the regularity of the attendance must be a subject of just self-congratulation to the Bishop of St. Boniface and his assistants. The congregation is composed almost entirely of the French speaking part of the half-breed community.

## CHAPTER XI.

### LATER CIVIL HISTORY OF RED RIVER.

Committee of the House of Commons—Canadian Surveying Expedition—  
Connection of Settlement with England, Canada, and the United  
States—The "Nor' Wester"—Extracts, Grave and Gay.

THE course of events in Red River Settlement, since the coalition between the two great rival fur companies took place in 1821, has been generally uniform, and offers but few points of interest to be laid hold of by the narrator. The greater number of such events as have varied the yearly monotony of life have already come under the notice of the reader in the course of the chapters in which the rise of such institutions as exist has been described.

More than eleven years have already elapsed since the future of Red River became a topic of interest to men in the outside world. About 1857 the public curiosity had risen so far that the progress of an inquiry into the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company, conducted before a Committee of the British House of Commons, was watched with considerable interest by the Canadian people, and their Government. The principal cause which led to the appointment of the Committee in question was the near approach of the time when the license of exclusive trade then held by the Hudson's Bay Company over a very large portion of their field of trading operations, should expire. This license, originally granted by Act of Parliament in 1821, was renewed in 1838, for a term of twenty-one years, after full inquiries had been made and satisfaction obtained on behalf of the Crown. The Committee of 1857 was composed of nineteen gentlemen, several of whom were leading men in the House, and continued its sittings at intervals between 18th February and 31st July, during which time it collected

evidence from a considerable number of witnesses well versed in the subjects at issue. These comprehended a vast range of topics bearing upon the Hudson Bay Company's authority, and the manner in which it had been exercised. The isolated settlement on Red River and its history occupied a prominent place in the investigation, several individuals who had lived for some time in the colony being called in and examined. Although the license of exclusive trade in the Indian country was not renewed, the whole spirit of the report returned to the House by the Committee was such as to justify the Company and its friends in believing that no serious fault had been found with its management. The inquiry, however, produced no immediate effect. The Committee recommended that a bill should be introduced by the Government embodying their views with reference to a change in the management of the country, and expressed a hope that such grave interests being at stake all parties would approach the subject in a spirit of conciliation and justice, but their recommendation has never yet been acted on.

In 1857, expecting probably some immediate action on the part of the Imperial Government, the Provincial Legislature of Canada fitted out an exploring expedition under the command of Simon J. Dawson, civil engineer, and Henry Youle Hind, M.A., each of whom had charge of a separate department of the work.

Mr. Dawson, accompanied by three assistant surveyors and a commissariat officer, started from Toronto in July, and commenced his survey at Fort William on the western shore of Lake Superior. A survey of part of the ground he had it in his instructions to explore had many years previously been made by the Boundary Commissioners under the treaty of Ghent, and during the year 1857-1858, Mr. Dawson made it his business by his operations to connect Fort Garry with this survey. During the winter succeeding his arrival he made the settlement his head quarters, and after having executed a survey of the coast of Lake Winnipeg and the Red River, between Fort Alexander and Pembina, he in spring journeyed westward to the Saskatchewan. On his return he occupied himself with making a re-survey of the route between Red River and Canada, directing his special

attention to the portion between Rainy Lake and Lake Superior, a region he describes as being very rugged. He completed his labours in 1859, and his reports to the Government which employed him have been published, but as yet no works of importance have been undertaken in furtherance of his schemes.

Professor Hind was entrusted with the more strictly scientific part of the undertaking. His instructions specially directed him to report on the geological nature of the country through which he was to pass, its natural history, general topography, vegetation and soil. In the autumn of 1857, after having finished the summer work in co-operation with the surveying party, he left Mr. Dawson in winter quarters at Red River and returned to Canada by the St. Paul route. In April, 1858, Mr. Hind returned to Red River by way of Lake Superior, and accompanied the surveyors on their expedition to the west. After examining the rivers Assiniboine and Saskatchewan he returned to the settlement in September, and later in the season to Canada *via* St. Paul. The two chiefs, during the time occupied by their surveys, divided their respective parties into several smaller divisions, at the head of each of which was placed an assistant surveyor. By these means several surveys were kept in progress over different parts of the country at the same time, and the whole work, when brought to a close, presented a very complete and extensive series of operations. Professor Hind, in 1860, published the result of his inquiries in a popular form. His book is called a "Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858." It is a very interesting and lucid exposition of the subjects treated of, and I have to acknowledge my obligations to it as an authority used in the preparation of my present work, and more especially as an indicator of the line of inquiry I have adopted in gathering information from people resident in the colony.

An attempt was made in 1858 by the Canadian Government to organize a mail service between Canada and Red River Settlement over the route surveyed by Mr. Dawson. The attempt was persevered in for two years. The mail bags arrived very irregularly, and invariably, I believe, long after the time at which they were

theoretically due. The quixotic scheme was abandoned early in 1860. The whole affair was regarded as a serious evil by the settlers, whose letters, in passing through Canada, ran the risk of being forwarded by the uncertain means of conveyance it offered, even though the envelopes were specially directed to be sent *via* St. Paul and Pembina, the mails by which route continued to arrive the whole time with uninterrupted regularity, and were invariably used, even by the Canadian officials resident in the settlement.

The people of Red River Settlement have always naturally longed for some connection with the outside world. Their isolated position, if not entirely unparalleled, is decidedly exceptional among all other British colonies existing at the present time. Creditably as they have adapted themselves to their singular circumstances, and undeniably comfortable as they have rendered themselves since the first difficulties they encountered had been overcome, now more than forty years ago, there has always been wanting in their lot much that might reasonably be desired. The grand desideratum was a market. This they required both for purchase and sale. What articles they required from the civilized world had to be ordered a year previous to their receipt from London. The sale of their agricultural produce was limited to the requirements of the Company, who provisioned their Northern districts from the settlement. It has frequently occurred that the demand for flour and the other staple articles has exceeded the supply, but this has generally been caused by temporary difficulties, and I know of no valid reason why an unlimited amount of farm produce should not be obtained except that there is a lack of consumers.

If the Red River population has been anxious for connection with other countries, the latter cannot be justly accused of supineness in reciprocating the feeling. Both Canada and the United States have ardently desired to participate in the trade of the north. The difficulties of the route between Lake Superior and the settlement are so great that, in spite of their good will, the Canadians have been unable to make any advances further than the institution of the already described abortive attempt at a

mail service. The special obstacle to be overcome lies at the height of land between Lakes Superior and Winnipeg, separating the great water systems of the St. Lawrence and the Missouri. The route through the United States, on the contrary, though much more circuitous, passes through the plain country and offered no obstacle of a physical nature to its completion. Red River had, therefore, to wait for nothing except the inevitable settlement of the rich agricultural plains of Wisconsin and Minnesota to bring her into close commercial relationship with the United States.

The first great fact which heralded an important change was the establishment of the United States mail communication. As the city of St. Paul grew into importance, some adventurous Red River people from time to time travelled across the plains to buy in its markets. Their rude appearance and unsophisticated simplicity are still remembered at St. Paul, whose storekeepers were astonished to receive from these customers the entire contents of their purses, while the amount to be retained, as the price of goods bought, was left to their uncontrolled integrity. This mode of transacting business has of course been long abandoned. The traffic between the two places increased steadily from year to year, until, in 1859, the Hudson's Bay Company, in consequence of the inadequacy of the means of transport between the settlement and York Factory, to meet the growing demands for freight made upon them, brought out a large consignment of their supplies by the new route. The chief contractors for the freighting business were Messrs. J. C. & H. C. Burbank & Company, a St. Paul firm, also employed by the United States Government to carry their mails. These gentlemen, finding it necessary for their interests that a practicable road should exist, bridged the principal streams between St. Paul and Georgetown, at the western extremity of Minnesota, while a steamboat was stationed on the Red River of the North to ply between Georgetown and the settlement. I may mention that Georgetown was so named in compliment to Sir George Simpson, the Governor of Rupert's Land.

Since the opening of the Minnesota route the traffic passing



over it has annually increased. An outbreak of Sioux Indians, which occurred in 1862, gave a temporary check to settlement in the state, but the revolt was quelled, and the tide of emigration has been continually flowing westward for some years. That time will bring it to the British Lines admits of but little doubt. The question then rises, how will it affect the country politically? Only two possibilities seem to exist, Rupert's Land will either be incorporated, with the other divisions of British North America, into one great brotherhood of British Provinces, or it will drift into annexation to the United States of America. So many events are liable to occur affecting this question, and so many arguments can plausibly be advanced by those whose opinions favour either of these alternatives, that it seems at present impossible to conclude with anything approaching certainty what will ultimately be the fate of the colony. The present inhabitants see England as the one point to which long ago their eyes were turned, as the remote but only available source of manufactured supplies, and as the mother country to which politically they are bound by frail and almost imaginary ties, while the Union has brought the products of civilization, in the natural course of its progress, to their very doors, and is yearly bringing them more and more within reach of the influences of civilized life. Tradition speaks to them of their Scottish kindred, but present interest and the natural influence of good offices and profitable commerce connect them closely with their neighbours, the citizens of the United States. I am inclined, however, to believe that the feeling of the great majority of the population, not born American subjects, is still in favour of being permitted to strengthen the ties which connect their country with Great Britain, and that late events in the history of the States have not tended to foster any desire which may exist for political union with the Great Republic, however much the kindly feelings and actions of its citizens may be reciprocated and appreciated. The American element in the population may, however, soon preponderate to such an extent as to render the party anxious for annexation possessed of a numerical majority of adherents resident in the colony.

An event, interesting from its novelty, occurred in 1859, when

the first newspaper ever published in the country was established, its opening number being dated 28th December of that year. The paper was called "The Nor' Wester" and appeared once a fortnight, the amount of subscription being twelve shillings, afterwards reduced to ten, per annum. The project was carried out by two Canadians named Buckingham and Coldwell, the former of whom had been connected a good deal with the Canadian Press, while the latter had in the course of his newspaper experience officiated as shorthand reporter of debates in the Canadian Provincial Legislative Assemblies. In 1860 Mr. Buckingham quitted the settlement, and the "Nor' Wester" was conducted by Mr. Coldwell in partnership with Mr. James Ross, a gentleman who is mentioned in a document published by the Bishop of Rupert's Land as having been a distinguished scholar at the Red River college of St. John, and who afterwards went through a very creditable academical career at the University of Toronto. In 1864 Mr. Ross sold his interests in the newspaper to Doctor John Schultz, a medical practitioner in the colony, who, on the departure of Mr. Coldwell to Canada, in 1865, became sole proprietor in the venture, and remained so until the present year, 1868, when he made it over to Walter Robert Bown, a person who has for a few years past resided a good deal in the settlement, practising as a dentist.

Many opinions exist among the settlers in reference to the influence which the "Nor' Wester" has exercised. Some regard it as having been an instrument of unmixed evil, others as having been productive of some benefit to the community, while possibly the greater number believe it to have been destitute of any appreciable influence whatever. As will readily be imagined it has been much used as an instrument for promoting the private objects of its successive proprietors, in which view it will come under our notice a good deal in the after course of my narrative. In looking over the long list of old numbers now on file, I certainly hesitate to say that it is useless, for the detailed record of local events presented in the form even of a very inferior newspaper, is interesting to such as take a pleasure in the recollection of local reminiscences. The spirit of persistent opposition in its columns towards the

government of the colony, latent at times but always existing, is a feature the absence of which would have been preferable to its presence. In this respect, I think it certain, that had the influence of the "Nor' Wester" been at all commensurate with its ambition, it would have frequently so exercised it as to bring the settlement into a state of anarchy. Its general appearance is of course very inferior. The printing, though improved of late, still leaves much reasonably to be desired, and the diction I shall permit to speak a little for itself in the Appendix.

A large portion of the newspaper has generally been devoted to advertisements, and too much of it to incidents of a surprising and apocryphal nature, and long lists of "Miscellaneous Items." To give detailed specimens of the "Startling Facts" abounding in its numbers would be impossible within my limits; but the titles of the articles may convey some idea of their substance. We have "The Millennium at Hand;" "Saved by his Boots" "Montreal to be the residence of the Pope;" "Which was the Lunatic?" "Awful Revenge;" "New Infernal Machine;" "The End of the World—1878 the Last year;" "Dean Stanley on Solomon;" "Excommunication of Doctor Colenso;" "Mr. D'Israeli at Church;" "Love and Murder on the Plains;" "A Deaf and Dumb Lawyer;" "Our Cat;" "The Pre-Adamite Inhabitants of Switzerland;" "A Three-tongued Child;" "The New Horror;" "Premature Interment;" "Mexican Bullfight;" "What is the Use of the Moon?" "A Flying Ship;" "Strange Freak of a Lunatic;" "Biddy and the Premier;" "Singular Fancies of a Lunatic;" and many others of the same kind.

The "Miscellaneous Items" comprehend such statements as the following:

"There is a house in Brooklyn occupied by a fifth wife and five mothers-in-law.

"A man in Albany is troubled with a strange mania. He thinks he is a cancer. Very recently he very nearly ate the side of a poor fellow's face off, and was then locked up.

"The following dialogue actually took place a short time since between a visiting examiner and a pupil in a school near Salisbury, England:

“ ‘Now, then, the first boy of the Grammar class!’ First Boy. ‘Here be-zur.’ Examiner. ‘Well, my good boy, can you tell me what vowels are?’ First boy. Vowels, zur! Yes, of course I can.’ Examiner. ‘Tell me then, what are vowels?’ First boy. ‘Why, vovls be chickens.’

“ ‘Aw Doctaw, does the cholera awfect the highaw awdaw?’ ‘No;’ replied the doctor to the exquisite; ‘but its Death on fools, and you’d better leave the city at once.’

“ ‘Headings. An editor heads his list of births, marriages, and deaths thus, ‘hatched,’ ‘matched,’ and ‘despatched.’

“ ‘A foreigner looking at a picture of a number of vessels said, see what a flock of ships. He was told that a flock of ships was called a fleet, and that a fleet of sheep was called a flock. And it was added for his guidance in mastering the intricacies of our language, that a flock of girls is called a bevy, that a bevy of wolves is called a pack, and a pack of thieves is called a gang, and a gang of angels is called a host, and a host of porpoises is called a shoal, and a shoal of buffaloes is called a herd, and a herd of children is called a troop, and a troop of partridges is called a covey, and a covey of beauties is called a galaxy, and a galaxy of ruffians is called a horde, and a horde of rubbish is called a heap, and a heap of oxen is called a drove, and a drove of blackguards is called a mob, and a mob of whales is called a school, and a school of worshippers is called a congregation, and a congregation of engineers is called a corps, and a corps of robbers is called a band, and a band of locusts is called a swarm, and a swarm of people is called a crowd, and a crowd of gentlefolk is called élite, and the élite of the city’s thieves and rascals are called the roughs.’

“ ‘Query.—Was Western whiskey ever seen ‘coming through the rye.’

“ ‘A drunken Englishman at Emms, a German watering place, lately on meeting the viceroy of Egypt slapped him in the face and called him ‘a d—d Arab.’

“ ‘The most recent case of absence of mind, is that of an editor who recently copied from a hostile paper one of his own articles and headed it ‘wretched attempt at wit.’

“ ‘Mrs. Tochey was arrested for being drunk on a tavern door-

step in Troy. The landlord appeared in her defence, and set up that he kept her as a sign to attract customers and to show the efficacy of his liquors."

From time to time the Red River public is favoured with some beautifully written scrap of poetry from the works of Bulwer, Tennyson, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, or the pages of some English Monthly Magazine. Of the latter I shall here insert one specimen, merely premising that surely the taste which guided the editor who selected it was good, and excusing myself to its author, unknown to me, for the liberty I have taken in copying his beautiful production in full, on the ground of the exceptional circumstances through which it came under my observation. It is quoted in the "Nor' Wester" as taken from *Fraser's Magazine* and is headed

"FAR AWAY."

"The land that is very far off,"

Upon the shore  
Of Evermore  
We sport like children at their play,  
And gather shells  
Where sinks and swells  
The mighty sea from far away.

Upon that beach,  
Nor voice nor speech  
Doth thing intelligible say;  
But through our souls  
A whisper rolls  
That comes to us from far away.

Into our ears  
The voice of years  
Comes deeper, deeper, day by day;  
We stoop to hear  
As it draws near  
In awfulness from far away.

At what it tells  
We drop the shells  
We were so full of yesterday,  
And pick no more  
Upon that shore  
But dream of brighter far away.

## RED RIVER.

And o'er that tide  
 Far out and wide  
 The yearnings of our souls do stray ;  
 We long to go  
 We do not know  
 Where it may be, but far away.

The mighty deep  
 Doth slowly creep  
 Upon the shore where we did play ;  
 The very sand  
 Where we did stand  
 A moment since, swept far away.

Our playmates all  
 Beyond our call  
 Are passing hence, as we, too, may,  
 Un'to that shore  
 Of Evermore  
 Beyond the boundless far away.

We'll trust the wave  
 And Him to save  
 Beneath whose feet as marble lay  
 The rolling deep,  
 For He can keep  
 Our souls in that dim far away.

Occasionally, too, an effusion appears written expressly for the journal now under review. The vast majority of these efforts are, when intelligible, so insipid that I dare not venture to inflict them on my reader. One of the more successful minority, however, along with another, to the original history of which I possess no clue, I shall here re-produce, remarking that in my opinion stale insipidity cannot be truthfully alleged against either of them. The first is specially headed,

" LINES FOR THE NOR' WESTER."

I would I were a Stickleback  
 And lived upon a mountain,  
 I'd curl my tail, and pur and quack  
 Like sparrows in a fountain.

What joy through icy fire to dart,  
 Upon a cobweb swinging,  
 And give my love my sunburnt heart  
 While evening drums are ringing.

Yet rather would I wish to be  
 An elegant young spider,  
 To treat my love to imps and tea  
 And sit and sing beside her.

Then would we fly to Ætna Green  
 With blue bottles behind us,  
 And hidden in a soup tureen  
 No mortal eye should find us.

This ballad is signed "Bedlam"; the real name of the author I have been unable to ascertain.

My second specimen is headed merely "*Curious Medley.*" No signature is attached to it, and the name of the compiler is unknown to me. It runs as follows:

## CURIOUS MEDLEY.

By the lake where drooped the willow,  
 Row, vessels, row;  
 I want to be an Angel  
 And jump Jim Crow.

An old crow sat on a hickory limb  
 None knew him but to praise;  
 Let me kiss him for his mother  
 For he smells of Schweitzer kase.

The Minstrel to the war has gone  
 With his banjo on his knee,  
 He awoke to hear the shriek  
 There's a light in the window for thee.

A frog he would a wooing go  
 His hair was curled to kill,  
 He used to wear an old grey coat  
 And the sword of Bunker hill.

Off in the stilly night  
 Make way for liberty—he cried,  
 I won't go home till morning  
 With Peggy by my side.

I am dying, Egypt, dying,  
 Susanna, don't you cry,  
 I know how sublime a thing it is  
 To brush away the blue tailed fly.

## RED RIVER.

The boy stood on the burning deck  
 With his baggage checked for Troy  
 One of the few immortal names,  
 His name was Pat Malloy.

Mary had a little lamb  
 He could a tale unfold,  
 He had no teeth to eat oatcake  
 As his spectacles were gold.

Lay on, lay on, Macduff  
 Man wants but little here below,  
 And I'm to be Queen of the May  
 So kiss me quick and go.

The following advertisement may perhaps interest my Masonic readers. The "W\* \* M"\* \* was Dr. Schultz, editor of the paper at the date of insertion, being Wednesday, 9th November, 1864.

## NORTHERN LIGHT LODGE.

The first regular communication  
 of  
 Northern Light Lodge U. D.  
 of F\* \* and A\* \* M\* \*  
 will be held on Monday evening  
 next, 14th instant,  
 at the Lodge Room,  
 In the building of A. G. B. Bannatyne, Esq.,  
 By order of the W\* \* M\* \*

W. COLDWELL, S\* \*

A more detailed account of the proceedings of the Masonic fraternity shall be laid before the reader on a future page.

The rules I have laid down to regulate the composition of this volume do not admit of my copying in full the proper names occurring in the following advertisements extracted from the "Nor' Wester," dated respectively 27th January, and 10th February, 1866, and 8th September, 1868.

## NEW ADVERTISEMENT.

Whereas certain reports have been, and I believe now are, in circulation which very much affect my standing in society and in the church, I wish to advertise the following document, which is a



series of questions asked of the person mentioned and the answers returned.

(Signed) M—— P——

RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

January 18, 1866.

For the silencing of the flying report and the satisfaction of the public, M——, P—— puts the three following questions to Mrs. G—— I——.

*Question.*—Had I ever any carnal connection with you?

*Answer.*—Mrs. G—— I—— No.

*Question.*—Did I ever attempt it?

*Answer.*—No.

*Question.*—Did I ever ask it?

*Answer.*—No.

Witnesses (Signed,) SAMUEL MATHESON.

(“) HUGH POLSON.

The girl to whom the above interrogatories had been put was said to have been somewhat indignant at the publicity of the measures taken without her knowledge or consent, and the first number of the “Nor’ Wester” published after that in which occurred the insertion of the obnoxious paper, contained the following advertisement from her pen. The G. I—— in the latter document represents her own Christian name, while the G—— in the former stands for that of her husband.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I see in the paper whereas M—— P—— complains of certain reports, which affect his character and his standing in the church, for which he ought to have thought of some time ago, and not to behave in an undecent manner, as he showed to me, which was unbecoming of any man, and more so a married man, and an elder in the church.

He speaks of the questions asked me to clear him. I never accused him of that or mentioned that. I just say what I said at first, no more, no less, and if Mr. P—— is not satisfied with this, in your next issue I will give a more detailed account of his conduct towards me.

(Signed) K—— I——

February 10th, 1866.

The public never was favoured with the threatened "more detailed account."

In a conspicuous part of the "Nor' Wester" of 8th September, 1868, appears the accustomed motto, designed, I presume, to indicate what the managers desire the public to consider the rule pursued by the journal in its selection of matters for publication  
*"Nothing extenuate, nor ought set down in malice."*

The customer, at whose solicitation they consented to insert the following advertisement, has certainly not been guilty of extenuation, and probably had anything of a malicious nature entered into his motives, it has recoiled in absurdity on himself.

CAUTION TO THE PUBLIC.

Whereas my wife Nancy has been guilty of adultery and other improper conduct, I take this method to caution the public of this colony against harboring her, or selling her anything on my account, as I have put her away from my bed and board for the reasons above stated. I will provide for the maintenance of my daughter, however, now in her possession, if she will deliver her into my hands.

(Signed) J— I—, R.A.  
 August 18.

Before resuming the labours of original composition, I beg to close this chapter by one more extract in the shape of a material address.

TO THE TERRESTRIAL GLOBE.

*By a Miserable Wretch.*

Roll on! thou Ball, Roll on!

Through boundless realms of space

Roll on!

What though I'm a sorry case!

What though I cannot meet my bills!

What though I suffer toothache's ills!

What though I swallow countless pills!

Never you mind! Roll on!

Roll on! thou Ball, Roll on!

Through seas of inky air

Roll on!

It's true I've got no shirts to wear

It's true my butcher's bill is due

It's true my prospects all look blue

But don't let that unsettle *you*

Never you mind! Roll on

(IT ROLLS ON.)

## CHAPTER XII.

### ANNUAL ROUTINE IN RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

Packets—Water Freighting—Portage La Loche Brigade—Land Transport on the Plains—Plain Hunters—Changes of Seasons—Christmas Festivities—Easter—Requisitions for Supplies—Goose Hunts.

THE starting of the Northern Packet from Red River is one of the great annual events in the colony. It occurs generally about the 10th December, when the ice having been thoroughly formed and the snow fallen, winter travelling is easy and uninterrupted. The packet arrangements are such that every post in the Northern Department is communicated with through its agency. The means of transit are sledges and snowshoes. The sledges are drawn by magnificent dogs, of which there are three or four to each vehicle, whose neatly fitting harness, though gaudy in appearance, is simple in design and perfectly adapted to its purposes, while the little bells attached thereto, bright looking and clearly ringing, cheer the flagging spirits of men and animals through the long run of the winter's day.

In the course of the long distances traversed by the winter runners, every pound weight laid on the sledges tells. So jealously was all excess in the amount of mail matter transmitted through the packets guarded against in the old times, before the institution of Red River mails, that the carriage of newspapers was disallowed, with the exception of an annual file of the "Montreal Gazette," forwarded to head quarters for general perusal. Newspapers were then rare and highly prized, but now the bulk of the contents of the Company's inward bound packets consists of newspapers addressed to private individuals.

A pair of stoutly constructed wooden boxes, measuring about three feet in length by eighteen inches deep and fourteen wide, when well packed, contain an astonishing amount of printed and written matter. These receptacles are secured to the dog sledges, and the party sets forth on its journey, the dogs running at a gentle jog trot from about daylight till dusk, and the drivers accompanying them on foot. To walk over the snow the latter require "snowshoes." These are composed each of a light wooden frame, about four feet in length, tapering from a width of about fifteen inches at the centre to points at either end, the toes being so turned up as to prevent tripping. Over this frame netting is stretched for the foot of the runner to rest on. The object of the appliance is by a thin network to distribute the weight of the wearer over so large a surface of snow as will prevent him from sinking. The invention is an Indian one, and like that of the canoe and other Indian instruments, it is so perfectly suited to the object to be compassed as not to be susceptible of improvement from the whites.

In traversing the frozen lakes the parties skirt their shores from point to point, selecting their camping places for the night in the more sheltered spots, where firewood can be obtained. A quantity of snow having been cleared away, sometimes with the aid of a snowshoe used as a shovel, the members of the party set themselves to work in collecting all the dry wood they can find, and a long fire is lighted. Supper having been prepared and eaten, and the dogs fed, the fire is replenished, and the members of the party, arranging their blankets so that each lies with his feet to the blaze, fall asleep. Some time before sunrise they are again awake and, after finishing their breakfast of pemmican and tea, resume their journey. Forty miles a day is considered not an extraordinary run. A halt of one or two hours is made towards noon for dinner.

The winter packet generally runs from Fort Garry over the whole length of Lake Winnipeg to Norway House at its northern extremity, in eight days. The distance thus travelled is about 350 miles. At Norway House the entire packet is overhauled and repacked so as to separate matter going north and west from that going eastward towards the coast of Hudson's Bay. The

Red River runners return from Norway House, bringing with them to the settlement the packet from York Factory on the Bay, which is run to connect with the one they have brought from the settlement.

A new set of packet bearers travel from Norway House to Carlton, near the eastern extremity of the great Saskatchewan valley. Their route runs across Lake Winnipeg and up the river Saskatchewan on which Carlton is situated. The distance is about six hundred and fifty miles, and is performed in twenty-two days. At Carlton the process of unpacking and redistribution is again performed, matter directed to the north being separated from that directed to the west, including the posts in the districts of Swan River and Saskatchewan. Carlton, although not the chief post in the Saskatchewan district, is the grand centre of the winter packet arrangements. The runners who come from Edmonton down the river Saskatchewan, and those whose journey from Norway House I have just traced, wait there the arrival of the outward bound express from the northern districts, strictly so called, being those of Mackenzie River and Athabasca. When the runners coming from these three different directions have met and exchanged their burdens, the last grand link in the operation is completed. The express which has come down the river returns to Edmonton, the Norway House men retrace their steps eastward, while the great Northern Packet journeys onwards in charge of the men who have come to meet it from the remote regions to which it is consigned.

Men engaged at Carlton are then dispatched overland to Red River, through the Swan River district, with the matter consigned to posts within the latter, and the collected correspondence of the north and west to be mailed for the outside world, as already described, by the agency in Red River settlement. This outward-bound express usually reaches Fort Garry in the last week of February. Its arrival forms one of the chief events of the winter. For some days after its receipt the Company's office is a scene of comparative bustle, maintained by a succession of inquiries for letters from friends inland. Occasionally very sad news is brought out by such opportunities. Death and other

causes of change operate even among the scanty population of the north, and the accumulated incidents of six months often present at least one or two topics of general interest. The ramifications of relationship in the country are so complicated that events of importance which affect any family are felt by a wide circle of more remote connections. The great majority of the settlers, too, have been themselves connected with the fur trade or have near relatives stationed at some of the Company's posts, scattered up and down the country. All these causes combine to render the receipt of a large quantity of news from the interior a very interesting event in the colony.

The arrival of the Northern Packet in February is closely followed by the dispatch of subsidiary expresses of minor importance, but chiefly intended for the convenience of the Company in its trading operations. The men from Carlton, after a few days' rest, return overland by the same route through Swan River District along which they had come to Red River, and a packet called the "Red River Spring Packet" is sent to Norway House *en route* to York Factory, whence another express called the "York Factory Spring Packet" comes to meet it.

The striking difference in the contents of outward and inward packets lies in the presence of newspapers and other printed matter in the latter, while in the former the whole contents consist of letters, the white envelopes of which contrast strongly with the soiled, stamped and postmarked appearance of their inward bound neighbours. Correspondence of a private nature is much indulged in throughout the Indian country where a great part of the year is spent in idleness. The chief drawback to letter writing at a remote post is the total absence of any thing to write about. This difficulty is overcome by the ingenious expedient of writing one letter, a copy of which is forwarded to each friend whom the author is desirous of laying under the obligation to reply to him. The excitement caused at a remote post by the arrival of the packet with all its news from home is very great.

The runners, whose duty it is to carry these packets, are, of course, not unimportant men either in their own eyes or in those of other people. When they can manage to be at one of the Company's

posts on Christmas or New Year's Day they are handsomely welcomed, and, under all circumstances, their recognized character as newsbearers secures for them a certain amount of flattering consideration. They certainly pass through a strange scene in their journeys. To their accustomed eyes, however, all is monotonous enough in the appearance of the withered woods through which the wind howls and shrieks shrilly in the night, or in the endless expanse of snow the glare of whose unsullied whiteness blinds the vision of the Lake traveller. The solitude of the regions they traverse is described by travellers as very striking, and, indeed, save when the occasional dog sledge with its peals of little bells in winter, or the swiftly passing boat brigade, resonant with the songs of the summer voyageurs, intrudes, with its momentary variation, on the shriek of the all penetrating wind, the ripple of the stream, the roar of the thunder-toned waterfall, or the howl of the wild beast of the woods, the vast expanse is abandoned to the undisturbed possession of the Indian hunter and his prey.

On the outbreak of spring the hibernal torpor, which has influenced a large portion of the settlement population, gives way to the active life generated by the vigorous prosecution of several branches of important and labourious business. Of these the freighting operations are among the most important. They are conducted by land and water. At the latter class of work we shall first glance.

The water carriage of the country is performed by means of what are called "inland boats." Each of these is worked by nine men, of whom eight are rowers and the other is steersman; it is capable of carrying about three and-a-half tons of freight. Brigades composed of numbers varying from four to eight of these craft are kept plying in various directions, throughout the season of open water, on the inland lakes and rivers between those points to and from which goods have to be carried. The tripmen who man these boats are Indians or Half-breeds engaged at the place where the brigade is organized, and paid a stipulated sum for the performance of the trip. Between Red River Settlement and York Factory such brigades pass and re-pass throughout the whole season of open navigation. They are organized in the set-

tlement, both by the Company and by such private settlers as have capital and inclination to invest it in that description of business. The cargoes sent to York are made up of furs and other country produce consigned thither by the Company for the purpose of shipment to England; the return freight from York to the settlement is partly composed of goods imported by private merchants and partly of those imported by the Company for use in its trading operations. These goods have all previously been shipped from England to York by the Company's annual vessel.

The route between Red River and York runs north through Lake Winnipeg to Norway House, thence eastward along a rugged line of streams and lakes by Oxford House to the Bay coast. The voyage both ways, including all stoppages, occupies about nine weeks, and the rates of pay allowed men belonging to the respective grades of steersman, bowsman, and middleman are £8, £7, and £6, for the journey. The employer, in addition to the above pay, of course, furnishes the brigades with food, consisting of pemmican and flour.

The greatest and most important of the brigades organized at Red River Settlement is that commonly known as the Portage La Loche Brigade. The chief objects of this organization are to convey inland the English manufactures intended for barter with the Indians in the remote and valuable districts of Athabasca and Mackenzie River; to bring out the furs already traded in these districts for shipment to England from York Factory; and to transport from the latter place to the settlement as much of the freight deposited at the factory for conveyance to that part of the country as the boats can carry.

Of late years this brigade has subjected the Company to considerable loss and inconvenience through mutinous conduct. The description I shall give of it refers less to what it has now become than to what it was so recently as 1866. Till that year, from 1826, when first organized, it served its purpose in a satisfactory manner. It consisted of about fifteen boats arranged in two minor brigades, each of which was under the charge of an experienced guide, whose boat, sailing at the head of the line, guided the rest through rapids, shoals and other obstacles to the navigation of the route. During



the first week in June, the ice in Lake Winnipeg having disappeared and spring completely set in, the leading brigade of seven or eight boats usually starts. About a week afterwards it is followed by the second brigade. The interval is allowed with the object of preventing the brigades meeting and creating undue bustle and confusion at any of the halting places along the route.

The first of these halting places is Norway House, to which depot is conveyed a vast quantity of agricultural produce from Red River Settlement. At Norway House there waits the arrival of the boats the outfit of English goods previously brought from York and stored there to be taken onward by them for the use of the trade in Athabasca and Mackenzie River districts. Having discharged their Norway House freight, and shipped that intended for the north, the boats resume their journey. Their new route runs in a westerly direction across Lake Winnipeg, up the River Saskatchewan, and northwards past Forts Cumberland and Isle à la Crosse, to Methy Portage, called also Portage La Loche, referred to by me in a previous chapter as the Height of Land separating the waters flowing into the Arctic Sea from those draining into Hudson's Bay.

This is the extreme limit of the course traversed by "the Portage Brigade." Here it is met by brigades travelling south from Mackenzie River and bringing the furs already traded. The Portage is about twelve miles in length. Efforts have been made to facilitate the transport across it by means of oxen and carts; but the men belonging to the boats are often necessarily employed here, as on all the other Portages, in carrying the packages on their backs. When the latter course is adopted it is usual to make the Red River men take their "pieces" half way across the Portage, where they deliver them over to the men from the North, receiving in exchange the fur packs brought to meet them by the latter. The new cargo shipped, they retrace their course down stream and, passing Norway House, run eastward to the Bay, with the object of delivering at the factory for shipment to England, the furs they have brought from Portage La Loche. Should the Company's ship have arrived at York before them, they immediately return to the settlement; but, if not, they wait for her and

receive what freight she brings for them to transport to Red River.

Besides the goods, the Portage La Loche brigade carries a packet. The opportunities offered by it in summer and by the "Northern Express," whose course has been already traced in winter, are the only two available to parties living north of Portage La Loche for communicating with the civilized world.

The time occupied by the trip just described is about four months, the boats starting early in June and returning to the settlement early in October, thus being employed during all the summer. Detailed average rates of travel may be taken as follows: The boats leaving the settlement on the 1st of June may arrive at Norway House on the 10th of June, leave it on the 12th, and pass Cumberland on the 24th of June, and Isle à la Crosse on the 9th of July, reaching Portage La Loche on the 17th of the same month. Leaving the Portage on the return trip on the 1st of August, they will pass Isle à la Crosse on the 5th, Cumberland on the 15th, Norway House on the 21st, and arrive at York Factory on the 31st of August. Leaving York on the 10th of September they will reach Norway House on the 30th of September, and Red River Settlement about the 8th of October.

The probable duration of the voyage, as a whole, may be relied on as above stated; but great uncertainty necessarily prevails as to the date of arrival at each post on the route. The above estimate is meant merely to indicate probability. In passing through the lakes the sail is used when the wind is fair; but, should it be otherways, it often happens that a detention of several days occurs. The difference of time occupied in ascending and descending rivers will also be observed. The upward trip from Norway House to Portage La Loche will occupy thirty-six days, the return will be executed in twenty-one days; that from Norway House to York will be performed in ten days, while the labourious ascent will require the efforts of twenty days. The rapidity and strength of the currents in the rivers cause the delay in ascending, and aid the efforts of the crews in descending the streams.

On the rivers traversed by these brigades, there are many

interruptions to the navigation of so serious a nature that the boats have to be unloaded and, along with their freight, carried by the crews occasionally for a considerable distance overland, to be re-launched at the nearest spot where the obstruction is at an end. This process is called "making a portage." Where the interruption is not of a character sufficiently formidable to render a portage necessary, the crew, going ashore, pull the vessel along by means of lines. This is called "tracking."

The vast amount of handling necessary in passing goods over the numerous portages which intervene between Hudson's Bay and even the nearer inland districts, renders the packing of the merchandize a matter of very great importance indeed. The standard weight of each packet used in the Company's trade is one hundred pounds. Such a bale or case is termed an "Inland piece." Each of the above described boats is supposed capable of containing seventy-five pieces as a fair cargo. It is the country method of estimating tonnage. The facility with which such pieces can be handled by the muscular tripmen is very perfect; a boat can be loaded by its crew of nine men in five minutes, and the compact, orderly appearance presented on completion of the operation is beyond praise.

The arrangement of the duties of the various grades of men belonging to these brigades is well calculated to suit its purpose. The steersman attached to each boat is the captain. Seated on an elevated flooring at the stern of his boat he steers, either with the common helm or, where the situation is critical, with his long and powerful sweep, with one stroke of which an expert workman will effect an instantaneous change in the course of his skiff. It is an important duty of the steersman to lift the pieces from their places in the boat, and lay them on the backs of the tripmen at the portages. The process of raising seventy or seventy-five pieces, each weighing a hundred pounds, from a position beneath the foot to a level with the shoulders, is one requiring a man of considerable strength to perform efficiently and with expedition.

Of the eight men composing the crew, one is called the "bowman." The special duty of this person is to stand at the bow of the vessel at all portions of the route abounding with rapids

shoals or sunken rocks, and, while advising the steersman by voice and sign where such obstructions exist, himself, with the help of a long light pole, to aid the motion of the boat into the safer channel. While not occupied in this distinctive duty, the bowsman works at the oar like any other man of the crew.

The "middlemen" are the rowers. When a favourable breeze blows their duties are relieved by the substitution of the sail. At portages they transport the boat and goods overland. Each man is considered competent to carry two "pieces" on his back at a time. These are maintained in position by a leather contrivance termed a "portage strap," by which the weight of the burden is brought to bear on the forehead of the porter.

After the performance of a few voyages over the Portage route, the ordinarily intelligent middleman gains such knowledge of the details of navigation as to become capable of acting as bowsman. After further service, should he turn out a man fit to command others, and likely to be careful of the property composing his ladings, he is eligible for promotion to the position of steersman.

Over each brigade, as already mentioned, there is placed a guide. This functionary may be described as the commodore of the fleet. His special duty is to shew the route in all parts where it is doubtful, or to lead the way where rapids or other obstructions intervene. He supports the authority of the steersmen and transacts the business of his brigade at the posts where it touches on the route. He is a most important official, and, when properly qualified, exceedingly useful. He is generally advanced in life, having necessarily risen from the position of middleman to that which he holds. His knowledge of every rapid and shoal throughout the long course of his run is generally perfect, and the two men who have been at the head of the Portage La Loche brigades since 1833 and 1848 respectively, named Alexis L'Esperance, and Baptiste Bruce, know their way so well that, even in a dark night, with a favouring breeze, they will press forward through treacherous waters when economy of time becomes an object.

On the Portage La Loche brigades, being those now specially under consideration, the pay of a guide for the entire trip,

occupying the four summer months, has been £35, of a steersman £20, bowsman £18, and middleman £16. When efficiently performed, the work done, though of a healthy nature, is extremely severe.

Until the year 1848 the Portage La Loche brigade consisted of only seven boats under one guide. The extension which gradually took place in the northern trade, however, necessitated the employment of increased means of transport. In that year the brigade was subdivided, and placed on the footing already described in detail. In the year 1866 a third subdivision was organized, so that, at the time I write, the concern really consists of seventeen boats in three brigades. Since 1866, however, the whole thing has got into so disordered a condition that I have selected a period anterior to that date as the one in respect to which my description holds good.

The manner in which the disorganization comes to be felt is in the mutiny of the crews and their refusal to complete the required voyage. Having delivered their outfits at Portage La Loche, they bring the furs which constitute their outward loadings as far as Norway House. Here the mutiny begins in a refusal to carry their furs to the Bay, and is followed up by a return to Red River with empty boats. The result is that a large quantity of valuable furs, comprising all those traded during the previous year in the vast northern districts, are stored up at Norway House, where no means exist of forwarding them to the seaboard for shipment to England, and consequently delay ensues in bringing them to the European market, and arrears of freight are stored up against the ensuing summer, when all the efforts which can be brought to bear are not much more than adequate to suffice for the evil proper to the day.

A check upon this method of doing business might be brought to bear on the men, were it not for the system of advancing wages on the trip, necessary in dealing with the class of which, for the greater part, these crews are composed. The men may be literally said to exist for the year on the proceeds of their summer work. On their return they do not betake themselves to any regular mode of industry, but vary seasons of hunting and fishing with

longer intervals of total idleness. Towards mid-winter they find themselves and their families in a condition nearly allied to starvation. Early in December the books are opened in the Company's office for the enrolment of men to serve on the trips of the ensuing summer, and the needy crowd comes forward. At first all is anxiety to be enrolled. An advance is given in money at the time of engagement, and afterwards at stated intervals before the commencement of the voyage further sums are paid. Towards spring the crowd assumes a higher tone, and threats are used that, unless new demands are complied with, the threateners will not start on the voyage at all. The counter threat of imprisonment for breach of contract is superciliously smiled away with the remark that the period of imprisonment will be less than the time occupied by the trip. Of course no concession is ever made by the Company to such demands, or the undertaking would be indeed a failure. The result is that a few of the men engaged are not to be found when the day of embarkation arrives, and those who do start have received about one half of their wages in advance. At Norway House they receive a few necessary supplies on account, and, were they to perform the voyage, would receive more at York. During their absence their wives and families draw on the amount still "coming to them" to provide themselves with the necessaries of life, so that the sum forfeited by mutiny, and a premature return from an unfinished voyage is quite inadequate to restrain the men. Excuses also are trumped up as to the lateness of the season at which they arrive at Norway House, rendering it impossible for them to go to the coast and return with open water. Although this has a feasible look, the alleged lateness of the season is owing to the delay and want of energy on the part of the men themselves in performing the up-stream voyage to the Portage in the early part of the summer. The experience of years proves the sufficiency of the time allowed for the execution of the work.

It was a matter of regret that even during the time the voyage was properly performed the use made by the drawers of the balance paid them on their return was often a bad one. The possession of a few pounds led, as a natural cause, to the invest-

ment of a large part of the sum in liquor, and disgraceful scenes often occurred during which those who had not spent all their available cash frequently lost it no one knew how. Then succeeded the season of alternate rest and partial occupation, until the necessities of the new winter caused an application for a fresh engagement. The continuance of this system has been caused by the necessities of the men whom it preserves from absolute starvation, and the undoubted fact that the labourious nature of the work to be done renders it difficult, if not impossible, to secure men in spring, when many other opportunities exist of gaining a livelihood through other and less-trying channels. As a class the Portage La Loche tripmen rank very low indeed in the colony. They are principally French Half-breeds and Indians. Their priests profess a certain influence over them, but they confess their flock is disreputable, and not to be prevailed on to fulfil their voyaging contracts.

The land transport of the country is carried on in carts, the main features in connection with which I have already described at length in Chapter V. Something like fifteen hundred of these are employed on the route between Red River Settlement and St. Paul, giving employment to perhaps four hundred and fifty men. Of these carts about five hundred make two trips each season. At the commencement of summer, when the Plains have become dry, and the grass grown, the first parties start, taking with them the furs collected for exportation; the return trip bringing the manufactured articles from the civilized world is the one which pays best. Each cart will carry eight hundred pounds weight, the through freight on which will average £7. Cart, harness and ox cost about £15. To this must be added the wages of a driver for each three carts, for six weeks, occupied by the journey at the rate of £4 per month, and an allowance for spare oxen before an estimate of the profits on Plain freighting can be obtained. The allowance of spare oxen varies from one-tenth to one-fifth of the total number of vehicles. The autumn brigade of carts leave the settlement late in August and return in October.

Since the Saskatchewan district grew into importance, and the Hudson's Bay Company altered the route, by which goods intended

for its trade were imported, from the old one by way of Hudson's Bay to that by St. Paul, considerable cart traffic has existed between the settlement and the region in question. About three hundred carts, employing one hundred men, and making one trip each season, travel over that road. The ultimate point to which the Red River vehicles travel is Carlton, although a well beaten track exists all the way between Fort Garry and Rocky Mountain House, comprehending a distance of about eleven hundred miles. The time usually occupied by parties going to Carlton and returning is seventy or eighty days.

Conspicuous in importance amongst the annual events in the colony are the journeys made to the Plains by the Buffalo hunters at different periods of the year. The parties belonging to the summer hunt start about the beginning of June, and remain on the Plains until the beginning of August. They then return for a short time to the settlement for the purpose of trading their pemmican and dried meat. The autumn hunters start during the month of August, and remain on the prairie until the end of October, or early in November, when they usually return bringing the fresh or "green meat," preserved at that late season by the extreme cold. Those hunters, of whom there are many who remain on the Plains during the whole winter, employ themselves in trapping the fur-bearing animals, and hunting the buffalo for their robes. The pemmican, which forms the staple article of produce from the summer hunt, is a species of food peculiar to Rupert's Land. It is composed of buffalo meat, dried and pounded fine, and mixed with an amount of tallow or buffalo fat equal to itself in bulk. The tallow having been boiled, is poured hot from the caldron into an oblong bag, manufactured from the buffalo hide, into which the pounded meat has previously been placed. The contents are then stirred together until they have been thoroughly well mixed. When full, the bag is sewed up and laid in store. Each bag when full weighs one hundred pounds. It is calculated that, on an average, the carcass of each buffalo will yield enough of pemmican to fill one bag. This species of food is invaluable as a travelling provision. There is no risk of spoiling it as, if ordinary care be taken to keep the bags dry and free from



mould, there is no assignable limit to the time the pemmican will keep. It is the travelling provision used throughout the north, where, in addition to the already specified qualifications, that of its great facility of transportation renders it exceedingly useful. The dried meat is the flesh of the buffalo, which, when it has been cut in thin slices, is hung over a fire, smoked and cured. It is packed in bales weighing on an average about sixty pounds each, and is also much used as a travelling provision. The fresh or green meat supplied by the late fall hunt is consumed in the settlement, and is not much used in travelling.

The operations connected with these Buffalo hunts give employment to somewhat over one thousand men and twelve hundred Red River carts. The people go to them with their families, who are employed in preparing the meat after the animals have been killed. The whole of those connected with the business may be divided into two sections, of which one leaves the settlement by the road leading to Pembina, and the other by that passing the spot on the river Assiniboine, called the White Horse Plain. The former proceeds in search of buffalo in a southerly, and the latter in a south-westerly direction. They act quite independently of each other. The carts leave the settlement in straggling parties without any bond of union, but, when once out on the prairie, they collect and choose a captain, who appoints subordinate officials of different grades, each of whom is charged with the performance of important and well-defined duties. They act as the police of the camp. Thenceforward all is conducted in admirable order. A system of penalties, to which all must submit, is strictly enforced, and perfect harmony of progress exists in the camp. Each evening all the carts are formed in a vast circle, into the centre of which the horses and oxen are driven, with the object of preventing thefts by prowling Indians and losses through cattle straying. After the camp has entered the country in the neighbourhood of which the buffalo are known to be, no gun is permitted to be fired until, in sight of the herd, the word of command is spoken by the captain authorizing the opening of the chase. The word given, the horsemen start in a body, loading and firing on horseback, and leaving the dead animals to be identified after the run is over. The kind

of horse used is called a "buffalo runner," and is very valuable. A good one will cost from £50 to £70. The sagacity of the animal is chiefly shewn in bringing his rider alongside the retreating buffalo, and in avoiding the numerous pitfalls abounding on the prairie. The most treacherous of the latter are the badger holes.

Considering the bold nature of the sport, remarkably few accidents occur. The hunters enter the herd with their mouths full of bullets. A handful of gunpowder is let fall from their "powder horns," a bullet is dropped from the mouth into the muzzle, a tap with the butt end of the firelock on the saddle causes the salivated bullet to adhere to the powder during the second necessary to depress the barrel, when the discharge is instantly effected without bringing the gun to the shoulder. The excitement which seizes the bold huntsman on finding himself surrounded by the long sought buffalo renders him careless in examining too curiously whether the object fired at is a buffalo or a buffalo runner mounted by a friend, but I have never heard of any fatal accident having happened, resulting from the pell-mell rush and indiscriminate firing. Guns, however, as a result of the careless loading, often explode, carrying away part of the hands using them, and even the most expert runners sometimes find their way into a badger hole, breaking or dislocating the collar bone of the riders in the fall. The breach-loading rifle is used in running buffalo by the wealthy amateurs who come from Europe to enjoy the sport, but the hunters of the country still almost universally use the old muzzle loaders.

The serious decrease in the number of buffalo which has been perceptible of late years is producing a very disastrous effect on the provision trade of the country. Pemmican, which formerly cost three-pence a pound, can now be procured with difficulty for a shilling, and dried meat formerly costing two-pence now costs eight-pence. This is a circumstance which threatens the transport business of the Company with the most alarming complications.

The rivers usually set fast toward the beginning of November, and the ice breaks up early in April. In winter, after the first snow has fallen, and before the tracks have been beaten, the roads are bad, but the inconvenience undergone by passengers at that

season is as nothing to that caused by the melting snow in spring, when the ground is usually, for nearly a month, so saturated with water as to render locomotion, except on horseback, almost impracticable. The change from the summer buggies and carriages to the winter equipments of cutters and carriages with their warm furs and chains of bells is agreeable. The monotony of mid winter is broken by the Christmas holidays, during which a good deal of festivity prevails in the settlement. The amusements are of course chiefly of a private and home kind, theatres and Christmas pantomimes not being yet known at Red River. Much driving about and visiting take place, and balls, family parties and celebrations of a kindred nature are set on foot. Processions of perhaps twenty cutters and carriages set out for a long drive over the snow, and the occupants generally arrange to call at some friend's house in a body and have a dance. This is called a surprise party and the dissipation has its charms.

One of the principal events in the holidays is the celebration of a midnight mass in the cathedral of St. Boniface, on Christmas eve. The large church is brilliantly lighted with several hundreds of candles, the decorations are as gaudy as can be procured, and the music, which is performed by the nuns, and such of the scholars and priests as have any skill in that way, has always been well studied beforehand and is effectively rendered. The congregation begins to gather from all quarters about an hour before midnight, and the numerous carriages and cutters, with their bells clearly ringing in the frosty air, create quite an excitement in the dead silence of the winter night. The unusual nature of the solemnity no doubt constitutes the groundwork of its popularity. The advanced hour at which it takes place gives rise to some inconvenience occasionally through the arrival of some noisy worshipper who has been spending a convivial evening with his friends. The doorkeepers, however, usually succeed in dissuading such parties from persevering to effect an entrance.

Easter season is also observed in the colony, where Good Friday is one of the very few recognized holidays of the year. At St. Boniface, and by the whole French population, the weeks of Lent are observed with punctuality, and religious services of a nature

special to the occasion are usually attended by crowded houses. Of late years the Anglican churches have also been opened for special services during Lent, and the attendance has given satisfactory proof of their popularity.

Although the route by St. Paul is now the recognized channel by which goods intended for use in the colony are imported, the facilities offered to the officers and servants of the Company for importing articles for their private use by way of York Factory are so considerable as to render the latter route preferred by the parties in question. The annual supply of "Private Orders" therefore arrives toward the beginning of October, and their receipt marks quite an epoch in the year. The orders for shipment have to be made out and forwarded to Europe early in spring as the ship leaves England at the beginning of June in order to reach Hudson's Bay *via* Stromness some time in August. Amusing anecdotes are current in the country relative to mistakes made by men unaccustomed to the work of ordering supplies from home. One French gentleman desirous to possess a swimming belt, most properly wrote for a life-preserver, and his astonishment was described as great when on receipt of his box he extracted therefrom an instrument composed of leather and lead, the use of which he could not without assistance imagine. Another veteran officer, whose knowledge of English spelling was defective, puzzled himself for years in trying to guess why his agent persisted in forwarding him a fine new clock. He certainly succeeded in selling all the articles at a profit, but his curiosity to ascertain the motive of the consignments led him to consult a friend who discovered the mistake to have risen from faulty spelling on the part of the consignee, the article really desired by the latter being a new cloak for his wife.

With regard to orders on a large scale I have heard of a very ludicrous mistake having been made by the Governor-in chief, Sir George Simpson. That gentleman during the later years of his administration finding his eyesight weakening transacted most of his reading and writing business through a secretary. One day a clerk in his office was reading over to him an indent or order for goods requested for a very remote post in the Southern Depart-

ment, when he came to the item "20 metal kettles" of the large kind used for rendering whale oil at the posts in East Main where the whale fishery is carried on. Moved by a consideration of the difficulties attending the transport of heavy articles in the remote regions whose supplies he was considering, or by some other reason to me unknown, Sir George remarked to his assistant "Put a nothing to that, boy," meaning to disallow the item. The man did as he imagined he had been ordered, and thought no more about the matter, nor was the attention of any one at Lachine further called to it until about eighteen months afterwards, when Sir George was advised by the gentleman in charge of the post for which the articles had been required that, in consequence of some misunderstanding, the grounds of which his correspondent was unable to explain, a consignment of two hundred large kettles in lieu of twenty of the same kind requested as per indent, had been received in good order and condition, though after the expenditure of considerable trouble in the way of transport.

The only annual occurrences of much public interest in the settlement other than those already alluded to are, I think, the spring and autumn goose hunts. The former occurs in April, when the birds are on their way to their breeding grounds in the north, and the latter in September when they are emigrating southwards to their winter quarters about the Gulf of Mexico. The autumnal hunt, which occurs after the heats of the long summer have passed away and the weather has become cool, is the most enjoyable. Many families leave the settlement and go off a distance of sixty or eighty miles to the neighbouring lakes to live for a few weeks a camp life in the open air. The geese which fly with almost incredible speed and at great height come down to drink from the lakes and rivers, on the shore of which the hunters are encamped, and are despatched by the latter in great numbers. They also form a welcome addition to the fare of the Indian hunters, who watch for their periodical returns with the anxiety of interested men.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### STATISTICS OF RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

Population—Agriculture—Plain Hunts—Fisheries—Fuel—Occupations  
and Characteristics of the People.

THE population of Red River, including that of the Prairie Portage, consists of about 12,800 souls. Of these, about 6,000 are French half-breeds, about English half-breeds, Indians, and the remainder white settlers, either descended from the original Scotch stock, planted by Lord Selkirk, or come from Great Britain, the United States, or Canada of late years, to share in the fortunes of the colony, in some cases after having served the Company for a term of years as labourers or tradesmen.

The French part of the population is, as a class, migratory. They go to the prairies to hunt buffalo, or man the Hudson's Bay Company's boat and cart brigades. The part of the settlement in which they live may be described as both banks of that portion of the Red River lying to the south of its junction with the Assiniboine and the southern bank of the latter river. They are all of the Roman Catholic religion. The English half-breed population and the Scotch, the latter of whom jealously maintain their boasted nationality, though the greater number of them have spent their lives entirely in the colony, are devoted mainly to agricultural pursuits, and inhabit that part of the settlement situated on the Red River between Upper and Lower Fort Garry, being a space of twenty miles, including the most valuable portion of the colony, and the northern bank of the Assiniboine. With the exception of the Scotch, who are Presbyterians, this portion of the population is Episcopalian. The Indians included in the above estimate are principally those resident in the Indian settlement of St. Peter,

who occupy themselves in the practice of agriculture, and partly in boat tripping and occasional hunting and fishing. These are all Episcopalians. The settlers lately come to the country are either agriculturists or petty merchants. As a class they differ so much from each other that I cannot venture to generalize on them further than merely to state the fact that they come without any visible capital, and, after some years' residence, appear to settle into the enjoyment of very fair circumstances.

The chief reliance of the colony for food lies in its agriculture, its Plain hunts, and its fisheries. The rabbits in the woods in winter, and the spring and autumn goose hunts, offer also temporary sources of supplies. Occasionally, for a series of years, the crops fail, and, when this is general, flour and other supplies have to be imported at heavy cost from the United States. The chief obstacles to agriculture are droughts, floods, early frosts, and locusts. Within the period of certain knowledge the settlement has been entirely flooded in the years 1809, 1826, 1852, and 1861. These disasters are caused by late springs, when the sun, breaking out in power, rapidly melts the winter snows, causing the accumulation of a vast sheet of water, to drain away which, owing to the flatness of the country, no adequate means exist. The devastations caused by these events are very serious; houses are inundated and all fencing and enclosures are swept away, landmarks are obliterated, the river is lost in one vast sea, and the sole means of communication are boats and canoes.

The principal visitations of locusts have taken place in 1818, 1857, and 1864. They arrive in immense swarms, extending over vast regions of the continent, and devour all crops, and, to a great extent, grass, and damage trees by stripping them of foliage, within the limits of the country in which they alight. After the first year's devastations they deposit their eggs in the ground and depart. On the outbreak of the succeeding spring the young locusts come to life, and recommence the work of destruction. So hopeless are the farmers, after the eggs have been deposited in their fields, that the majority of them do not lay down any crop at all, feeling that to do so would be only to throw away the seed, the plant, so soon as it begins to appear above ground, being snapped up by the

insect army. The settlement was more or less overrun by these insects during the years 1818 and 1819, 1857 and 1858, and between the years 1864 and 1868. During the present year the partial destruction of former times has become an entire failure of crops throughout the colony, so complete that, aggravated as it has been by the unprecedented concurrence of failures in the Plain hunts and lake fisheries, along with the disappearance from the woods of the generally numerous rabbits, were it not for the assistance extended to the settlement, by the charitable in the civilized world, nothing short of a death-burdened famine would await the people during the current winter.

The mischief done by summer droughts and early frosts is of a less general nature. The former, however, tell heavily during the scorching heats of a Red River summer, and the latter occur generally early in September before the crops have reached maturity.

The land in Red River Settlement is said, by all who pretend to a knowledge of agriculture, to be peculiarly favourable for the cultivation of wheat. Experiment has also tested this statement with most satisfactory results, wheat being, in fact, the main crop of the colony. It ripens in three months, and will produce forty bushels to the acre. Potatoes and all kinds of roots are cultivated with the greatest success. I may, indeed, here mention, as a fact calculated to dispel doubt as to the possibilities regarding this subject, so far as concerns Red River, that at Norway House, 300 miles north from the settlement, a garden exists within the fort, in which all the common garden vegetables are cultivated, and along with melons and other plants of a more sensitive nature, are annually brought to maturity. Fruit trees, I regret to say, have not yet been successfully grown in Assiniboia; gooseberries, however, exist, and strawberries, raspberries, and different varieties of currants grow wild along all the coasts of Lake Winnipeg. It has been suggested to me that one reason why garden fruits have been hitherto so little cultivated is that the unlimited quantities of wild berries growing in the woods and on the Plains supply the market, and render it unprofitable to incur any considerable expense in cultivating the others.

The possibility of conducting agricultural operations, at a distance



of more than two miles back from the river, has not yet been practically tested. The ground is certainly of a very swampy character, but many believe it remains so merely because no sufficient means have been used to render it otherwise. A vast population would be required to produce any material effect on the boundless, unreclaimed wastes in question. The process, however, might be assisted by the nature of the ground, which is soft and earthy generally to a great depth. A shaft sunk for a well at Fort Garry showed a depth of four feet of rich black soil, and an additional depth of forty-three feet of white, muddy sand before the solid rock was reached. This is believed to be a fair specimen of the prevailing state of things. A drain, two or three feet deep, ploughed from a short distance back in the swamps towards the river becomes, in the course of a few years, a considerable ravine, which carries off the melting snow in great quantities every spring, the service it performs in this respect each year augmenting its capacity.

The live stock of the settlement consists of horses, oxen, cattle, pigs and sheep. The latter have not been much attended to of late years, the difficulty of preserving them in the Plains from the attacks of wolves and dogs, and the small market existing for their wool, operating as discouragements against breeding them.

The objects of the Plain hunts having been touched on in the preceding chapter, I need not here enter further on the subject. The autumn fisheries of the settlement supply it usually with a copious source of food. They take place in autumn from the neighbouring lakes of Winnipeg and Manitoba. These lakes abound in fish of various kinds, chiefly whitefish and sturgeon. The whitefish are the only ones caught in autumn. Those taken during the milder weather are cured by splitting, smoking and hanging them on stages rudely composed of branches, and those caught after the frosty weather has set in are merely hung, when the extreme cold most sufficiently preserves them and keeps them fresh. During summer the Red River and Assiniboine abound with the species of fish known as "gold eyes" and "cat fish," and occasionally yield a few sturgeon.

A very important part of autumn work consists in hay-cutting, to commence which outside the "two mile line" before the

1st of August is illegal. The prairie grass on the swamps above referred to grows to an unlimited extent with great luxuriance. In spite of the efforts made to gather it, hay generally becomes scarce towards spring, and sometimes costs from ten to twenty shillings per cart load weighing 800 pounds. It is stacked on the Plains by the gatherers who protect it against the prairie fires by surrounding it with a ploughed or burned ring at least eight feet wide situated about twenty yards from the stacks.

The prairie fires burn with great violence in the autumn, and sometimes approach very near the settlement, raising quite a storm through their influence on the atmosphere and covering the country with smoke. A very slight obstacle, however, sometimes even a well beaten cart track, will impede their progress.

A difficulty sure to make itself felt more and more as the settlement increases, exists in the small amount of timber for building purposes, and fuel growing on the banks of the Red River and Assiniboine. On the former stream and on its tributaries, the Rivière des Roseaux and Rat River, are to be found narrow strips of elm, oak, maple and poplar, fit to be used in building. The logs after being cut are floated down stream to the settlement on rafts. On the Assiniboine are to be found oak, elm, whitewood and poplar. Building wood or "lumber" generally sells at fifty shillings per one hundred boards, measuring ten feet long, by eight inches broad, and fuel at six shillings per cord measuring four feet high by eight feet long, and two-and-a-half or three feet broad. Probably with the introduction of steam vessels the woods on Lake Winnipeg and the rivers emptying into it will become extensively available for the supply of the wants of the colony. Hitherto only one private individual has attempted to avail himself of the facilities offered for obtaining large timber from this latter source. Mr. Henry McKenney has erected a saw mill at a spot on the shore of Lake Winnipeg, and transports the wood from that place to Red River by means of a schooner he has built to ply on the Lake. A fishery which Mr. McKenney has instituted on the locality he has selected, for the purpose of his wood cutting operations, proves chiefly valuable as a means of obtaining food for his men. Whether the speculation will turn out profitable remains to be seen, as it was only entered on in August, 1868.

The principle of division of labour is not well understood in the settlement, where every man is his own tradesman, and all articles the manufacture of which requires skill, are imported. Even with the narrow market open for colonial produce, farming is said to be more profitable than the skilful practice of any trade, such for instance as housebuilding. Efforts have been made again and again to establish certain manufactures for exportation, and the "Tallow Company," the "Buffalo Wool Company," the "Woollen Cloth Company," "Flax," and "Beetroot Sugar" Companies after being successively patronized by eager friends, have passed away leaving nothing but their names and debts. The making of Indian shoes or "moccasins," and the weaving of "Red River cloth" are the two most common exercises of domestic manufacture. The cloth is of very open and coarse texture, owing to a deficiency probably in the manner of fulling.

Wind-mills have long been in use, and of late years steam grist and saw mills have been introduced. In a country where all the houses are constructed of wood the latter are very useful. Brick-making has been repeatedly attempted on a small scale, but generally with no great success, owing partly, doubtless, to the inexperience of the workmen, and partly, it is said, to the friable quality of the clay employed.

Banking business has not yet been introduced to any great extent in the colony. The currency consists chiefly of promissory notes issued by the Hudson's Bay Company, redeemable by bills of exchange granted at sixty days sight on the Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee of the Company in London. The notes are said in the inscription which they bear to be so redeemable when presented at York Factory, formerly the head-quarters of the fur trade in the territory; but bills of exchange are granted for them at Fort Garry without any deduction for discount whenever they are presented. These bills of exchange bear a high premium in the United States, and as they can be obtained at Fort Garry on more favourable terms in exchange for notes than for American gold or silver, these Hudson's Bay notes bear a correspondingly high value in the eyes of the settlers. It is reported in the country that the American General Pope, when resident on

duty as an officer of engineers, many years ago, at Pembina, having observed the preference evinced by the settlers for the Company's notes more than for American gold, actually instanced it to his Government as a symptom of the degraded state of ignorance in which the unhappy colonists were kept by the Hudson's Bay Company.

These notes are of two denominations, one pound sterling, and five shillings sterling. Besides them there is a good deal of English and American gold and silver in circulation in the colony.

The Company issues its notes in paying wages for labour and in the purchase of furs, colonial produce, and the bills of exchange of parties in the settlement who having money in Europe or Canada, wish to draw through them.

One of the most characteristic features of the colony is the evanescent nature of its dwelling houses, which seem to resemble in that respect the lodges of the savage, removable from day to day and leaving no trace behind. The material used for building is wood, and the majority of the houses inhabited by the poorer classes have only one or two rooms. Lower Fort Garry is built of limestone, quarried from the rock existing not far from where it stands. The Roman Catholic cathedral and Bishop's residence are really fine stone buildings, and likely to prove durable. One objection to the use of stone in building rises from the depth of earth composing the soil, rendering the task of excavation reaching to the solid rock one not to be contemplated. Pile driving is yet unknown in the place, and concrete it is thought would be of doubtful efficacy, as the surface of the ground is said to be ever slightly altering in a manner which in course of time might cause fissures.

Even the larger houses of the wealthier residents, unless kept in constant repair, fall quickly into decay. The enclosures round them are stolen by wandering Indians, for fire wood, or swept away by floods, and, in event of the death of the proprietor, the whole thing sometimes falls to pieces in the hands of his successors, leaving nothing, save possibly a few isolated trees to mark the spot where snug farm houses and neatly kept gardens had flourished.

Like the dwellings, the institutions of the country have hitherto held their existence by a frail tenure, amounting almost to an artificial life. The fur trade alone seems to possess strong vitality. This branch of industry in its relation to the colony has been much and most ignorantly abused by one-sided reasoners of late years, as the all devouring monster which monopolizes the resources of the territory; but the fairer course would be to describe it as the motive spring which gives life to anything in the way of business existing in Rupert's Land. Furs compose the only species of merchandise in the country, the export of which is remunerative, and without them even what market exists for other articles would speedily disappear. To the fur trade the Red River Settlement is indebted for the exchange of good offices, which has sustained its existence.

Patriotism is a virtue popularly supposed to flourish in mountainous and old countries, whose majestic scenery and associations of old time, foster and perpetuate the pride and allegiance which their children feel for them. The inhabitants of the Plain country of Red River, however, most assuredly evince an affection for the land of their nativity, closely allied to, if not identical with, the patriotic emotions of the denizens of other countries. Nor is it only to the dead natural scenery that their feelings cling, but though existing under an improved exterior, the romantic life, the custom, mode of thought, and language, of the Indians, retain their hold on the affections of their descendants to successive generations. Thus a man whose usual language is English, and one who speaks French alone, are enabled to render themselves mutually intelligible by means of Cree, their Indian mother tongue, though each is totally ignorant of the civilized language ordinarily used by the other.

It is much to be desired and fully to be expected, that as the wave of population rolls westward, the agricultural and other latent resources possessed by the immense territory of Rupert's Land will be brought out, and that the fortunes of the dwellers in this remote region of the Empire may no longer depend solely on the success of the warfare maintained by the Indian against the wild beasts of the north, but it is undeniable that until the present

time the trade, which from the northern department alone, being that with which Red River Settlement is more immediately connected, brings to the English market an average value of £150,000 in furs, has presented the only means of commercially benefitting the Indian tribes, or of turning to profitable account the inaccessible regions over which its operations extend.

## CHAPTER XIV.

1861.

Red River Ferry—Upper Fort Garry—Bachelor's Hall—Royal Canadian Rifles—Roman Catholic Establishment at St. Boniface—Bishop of Rupert's Land—Ride to Lower Fort Garry—People and Life at Fort Garry.

IT is not without an effort that after the long digression brought to a close in the preceding chapter I resume the thread of my narrative at the point where it was interrupted at the close of Chapter V. It will be remembered I mentioned my arrival in the colony, on the afternoon of Sunday, the 4th August, 1861. More than seven years have now elapsed since that date, and many changes of importance have occurred, an account of which, with the reader's permission, I should wish to record in detail; but I may mention that the general account of the colony given in the preceding chapters, relates not entirely to the situation in which I found it in 1861, but includes the result of many events which have occurred since that date, and indeed generally refers to the condition in which it stands at the time at which I write.

The "Pioneer" drew up by the river bank at St. Boniface, and the passengers prepared to go on shore. As the destination of Mr. Morgan and myself lay on the opposite side of the river and no bridge existed, we, along with a considerable number of our fellow travellers, took passage in the local ferry boat, which was ready to take us across. I have not yet mentioned this ferry, which is the only one existing, under the patronage of the Government of the colony, to which its management had ever been a source of vexation. The position of the ferry is at the confluence of the Red River and Assiniboine. Its purpose is to transport foot passengers and vehicles across either or both of these rivers. The means by which this is effected consists of two scows worked

on ropes, a canoe and passenger skiff. By order of council, no other ferry boat is permitted to ply for hire within a radius of several miles from the site of the ferry. The name of the ferryman is Duncan Macdougall. He is a linguist, being competent to speak English, French, Cree and Gaelic, and in consequence of his abilities and usefulness as an interpreter, ought long before his present time of life to have occupied a good position. He is, however, inclined to conviviality, which circumstance has interfered as much with the progress of his fortunes as with the dispatch of his business. His house is situated close to the scene of his labours, on the south side of the Assiniboine, at the point where boats touch in making the crossing of the Red River. On this point, in consequence of its being the centre of traffic, several public houses have flourished. In the latter the ferryman has spent a good deal of his time, while some of the idle men around were stationed in the boats. The eye of the master not being on the subordinates, much laxity prevailed in working the scows, while the canoe and skiff were frequently appropriated by idle boys desirous of enjoying aquatic sports by stealth. The result was that often during the day passengers were obliged to wait for a shamefully protracted period before getting across, and after six o'clock in the evening, the silence was broken by the shouts of angry Englishmen, calling across the rivers for the means of transport, mingled with the entreaties of belated Frenchmen that "Mac Doug," as the latter pronounce the ferryman's name, would come to their assistance.

In addition to these evils the craft were in a very dilapidated condition. The flooring of the scows had been reduced to such a state of disrepair, that every step of the horses, or motion of the carts, deranged the boarding, sometimes to such an extent that, owing to the intervention of a tolerably central fulcrum underneath, one end of the board went down under pressure of a foot, while the other flew up with a certain degree of violence against the face of some neighbouring beast of burden. While the animal, whose leg had sunk through the flooring, was on his knees trying to recover himself, the other, who had received the stroke on his proboscis, might be on his haunches, the passengers shouting



for mercy and assistance, the boatmen contemplating a leap into the water, and the scow floating in midchannel of the river. The skiff, or canoe, when it was to be found on duty, was generally pretty heavily laden with muddy water, the result of protracted leakage or heavy rains.

The amount of obloquy incurred by this institution may be imagined. Outbreaks of public indignation constantly occurred on the spot, when cramped foot passengers, wet to the knees, issued from the inconvenient skiffs, or breathless carters urged their sorely-tried horses or oxen to stumble at a trot over the unsteady flooring of the scows, in order to gain a little impetus previous to making the stiff ascent of about two in three, formed by the landing track leading from the water level to the summit of the river's bank. Then the sixpenny trumpet of the "Nor' Wester" blew, at fortnightly intervals, indignant peals embodying the longest terms of execration in the editorial vocabulary, and levelled at "the ferry nuisance." From time to time petitions, numerously signed by the "citizens of Assiniboia," praying for the dismissal of Duncan Macdougall from the office of ferryman, were presented to the council. Again and again the responsible committee of this body, in answer to the prayer of the petitioners, dismissed the obnoxious public servant, and, after much trouble and persuasion, prevailed on some eligible person to accept the situation. The new man, after repairing the dilapidated plant and engaging trustworthy subordinates, addressed himself to the giant difficulty of the undertaking before him, that of securing from each foot-passenger patronizing his craft the small sum of one halfpenny, and from the owner of each horse and cart the sum of fourpence per trip. The storm which had blown in the time of his predecessor was as nothing to the tempest which would burst forth in the canoe of the new official on the bare intimation of so unwonted a proceeding, and new petitions, giving the lie to the old ones, were instantly set on foot, and numerously signed by the Canadian French population, praying for the re-instatement of the generous "MacDoug," who scorned to touch the halfpennies of the poor and never refused credit to a friend. The upshot generally was that the bold interloper voluntarily resigned, after a short tenure of office, leaving the way clear for the triumphant return of the inevitable Duncan.

The skiff in use on the day, when, for the first time, I traversed the Red River, was of the kind called in the country a "Dugout." It is formed from the trunk of a large tree, the centre of which is scooped out, and the exterior shaped into the semblance of a canoe. It had no seats, and we were obliged to kneel down, one behind the other, on some damp straw hastily scattered over the wet interior, while a boy, seated in the stern of the docile skiff, with a single oar, worked alternately on either side of the canoe, paddled us quickly across.

Fort Garry was before us when we reached the top of the bank. It is a collection of houses surrounded by a wall, part of the oblong of which is built of stone and part of large logs. The stone portion is supplied with four bastions used as magazines for the storage of various articles. The house which faced us on our entrance was the officers' quarters, as was evidenced by the appearance of the occupants at the windows. We made our way to the Governor's residence, where Mr. Morgan produced his letters and stated his mission.

Shortly after our arrival the fort bell rang, calling the mess to dinner, and, as we had already dined, we went out to look about us. Everybody was at mess, and, after pacing the wooden platforms of the fort, which serve as dry pathways in wet weather, for some considerable time, and seeing nobody, we ventured to enter a house situated in the centre of the Fort, immediately under the shadow of the flagstaff, the door of which, approached by a flight of outside steps, stood somewhat invitingly open. We found ourselves in a large hall, off which opened a series of private rooms. A table covered with newspapers and long broad plugs of caven-dish stood in a corner, while chairs and a low rude sofa were scattered in disorder up and down the apartment. Finding nobody within, and believing we had trespassed, we withdrew with all convenient speed, but had barely reached the corner of the house when we saw a crowd from the mess-room running towards us, headed by a gentleman who, with voluble cordiality, shook hands with me and brought us back. We were informed that the house was "Bachelor's Hall," and the centre chamber we had just quitted the general public room of the Fort, deserted during the progress

of the mess which took place in the Governor's house. I required to be told that the gentleman who had first greeted us, as also another present in the crowd, had been to school along with myself about eight years previously in Scotland, since which time I had seen neither of them.

On returning to Bachelor's Hall, Morgan, who had only one day at his disposal in which to get through his business in order to return to the States with the steamboat, got very restless, and after filling his pipe, quitted us precipitately. I regret to say he did not return, and I never saw him again. He found it necessary to proceed about twelve miles down the settlement in order to see a person capable of giving him some assistance in his pursuits, and all the ensuing day and two nights he was at work collecting information. Early on the Tuesday morning the steamboat started, carrying him back to Georgetown. I have since heard that the upward journey was tedious and protracted. Morgan left the boat, which had grounded and lain fast at a turn on one of the upper reaches, and walked, I believe, the greater part of a night, over the plains to Georgetown, where he arrived exhausted and cruelly mosquito-bitten. He gained his point, however, and caught the stage coach, which he would have missed had he remained on board the steamboat.

On the day of our arrival at Fort Garry, being the last Sunday of the residence of the Company of Royal Canadian Rifles at Fort Garry, previous to their return to Canada, the Bishop of Rupert's Land came in the afternoon to preach a farewell sermon to the troops. The service took place in the court-house situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the Fort.

In the cool of the evening I walked outside the Fort to see the general features of the neighbourhood. A favourite and much frequented walk leads close along the banks of the Assiniboine and Red River. On the opposite bank of the latter stream rose the buildings of the Roman Catholic establishment of St. Boniface. Of these the three principal were the many-windowed convent and plain square school-house or college, both built of wood, and the charred remains of what had once been the cathedral church. The ruins consisted of two towers, partially demolished, and a com-

siderable portion of the side walls which still bore faint traces of the decorations with which they had been ornamented.

During the preceding few months it had indeed appeared as if a terrible fatality had hung over this mission, the series of events connected with which has been already alluded to generally in a previous chapter. I would, however, beg here once more to touch on the subject, with the reader's permission, at greater detail.

In October, 1860, a Roman Catholic priest named Goiffon, connected with the United States Diocese of St. Paul, having been on a visit to his bishop, was returning to his mission station at Pembina. On drawing within a few days' journey from his destination, he imprudently left his party and pressed forward alone, hoping by so doing to gain time. On 3rd November, while alone on the Plains, he was overtaken by a furious tempest. During the preceding night his clothes had been wet by a heavy shower of rain, and the extreme cold which succeeded froze them stiffly around him. His horse, too, succumbed under the fatigue and cold. His own condition was so bad that he never knew the exact time his feet froze, but on dismounting his legs gave way underneath him. With what strength remained he scraped a hole under the snow, into which he dragged his body and lay there frozen.

His horse having died from starvation and exposure, the unfortunate man, after remaining amid snow and ice with no other covering than a buffalo robe for four days and five nights, feeling his strength failing from hunger, cut some strips of flesh from the dead animal and ate it raw. On the evening of the 8th November he was found by some travellers who brought him forward to Pembina. Here he was kindly received by Mr. Rolette, an American official on the frontier. The ice round his feet having been thawed, the flesh fell away from the bone, causing horrible pain. On the 26th of the month he was removed from Pembina, and, on the 28th, arrived among his friends at St. Boniface. Five days after his arrival the poor man underwent an amputation of his right leg, and a few days' delay was thought advisable before cutting off his left foot. During the interval an artery burst, and the patient's life was despaired off.

Matters were at this point, when, on 14th December, the fire

broke out which destroyed the cathedral. Father Goiffon was carried out of bed through the smoke and fire, which gained ground so rapidly that he and the two priests who carried the bedding on which he lay, narrowly escaped suffocation. As it happened he was dragged out so hurriedly that not even a blanket was taken with him, and before his friends could return to get one the flames were bursting through every window and rendered their attempt futile. The day was bitterly cold, and how the patient survived the transport to the hospital none can tell, but he got through it and lives still, though lamentably crippled, stationed somewhere in the Diocese of St. Paul.

As a temporary expedient, waiting the time when a suitable hospital should be erected for the accommodation of blind and otherways helpless invalids, the Bishop of St. Boniface had placed a blind old man, commonly known under the name of "Blind Ducharme," in his own house. This man, on the outbreak of the alarm of fire, lost his way in the midst of the uproar and confusion, and was burnt to death. So rapidly destructive was the conflagration that nothing of any value was saved, a costly and large library, along with all the records of the establishment, being among the losses most regretted by the sufferers.

On 30th May, 1861, a second destructive fire broke out in one of the barns belonging to the establishment, and four large buildings full of valuable stores were entirely consumed. No lives were, however, lost through this new disaster.

What had escaped from the fires was much damaged by the waters of the flood which, as already mentioned, occurred in 1861, causing a vast amount of loss to the settlement at large. The part of the community connected by religious ties with the mission at St. Boniface is as a whole the poorest in the colony. On its members the misery caused by the flood hung more heavily than on any others, and the poverty of the flock increased the always considerable demands for assistance made on the spiritual guardians.

Besides these accumulated mischances, the community was thrown into distress by the death of the oldest resident Sister of Charity, which occurred during the continuance of the inundation.

This lady was the first of her order, who had come to found the branch, which exists in Red River, and her decease was therefore peculiarly regretted. No spot of dry land existed for use as a place of interment, and a melancholy procession started from the Nunnery, wading knee-deep through the water to the church, where the body was temporarily deposited to wait the subsiding of the flood.

After the occurrence of these events, the bishop at the head of the suffering community went to Canada and France, ostensibly with the object of raising funds to meet the calamities it had undergone, and more especially for the purpose, already mentioned in Chapter X., of creating a new bishopric in the extreme north. Indeed, on my journey up the Mississippi, I had heard from the people in the steamboat, of his having passed Lacrosse immediately before my arrival at that place.

On the day after reaching Red River, I set forth to deliver a letter I had for the Bishop of Rupert's Land. Doctor Anderson resides at Bishop's Court, about two miles down the Red River from Fort Garry. The first part of my walk led me over the land held in reserve round the Fort, by the Hudson's Bay Company, which extends about three-quarters of a mile west and more than half a mile north, from that establishment situated at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. The reserve, for some distance on either side of the highway intersecting it, was thickly studded with the tents of Indians and others, the juvenile inhabitants of which, arrayed in amazingly light attire, were basking in the morning sun. At that time no houses were built so far back from the river at the high road, which ran due north at some considerable distance back from the stream, sometimes approaching it more nearly than at others according to the windings of its course. Byeways at frequent intervals struck off from the main road, leading along straight log fenced tracks, to the dwellings on the river's bank. The highroad struck directly across the settlers' land lots, each of which was laid off at right angles to the general course of the river, and varied in width from three to ten chains. The land between the road and the river was invariably well enclosed, fenced and farmed, but though

generally speaking the ground, on the other hand, towards the Plains was also well enclosed and cultivated for a long distance, this was not invariably the case. The state of the wooden bridges over which I passed gave evidence of the ravages produced by the flood, which had carried some of the more exposed and frailer structures entirely away.

I was most kindly received by his Lordship, who showed me the improvements in progress about his place. He was at the time destitute of a church, his old one, after having for some years been dubiously upheld by wooden props without and within the edifice, had at length fallen into such a condition as required its demolition in the interests of public safety. The workmen were at the time of my visit engaged in erecting the walls of the present neat little church of St. John. During the time occupied in building it, the bishop held service in a small wooden school-house, consisting of one room, generally overcrowded by the congregation. The entire space of ground occupied by the cathedral church, with its neighbouring establishments of college and Bishop's Court, extends over a lot of land thirty chains wide, which will, however, be all required for the erection in course of time of a large establishment.

The Tuesday after my arrival, the company of Canadian riflemen already referred to, left Fort Garry to proceed to Canada *via* York Factory. Along with Mr. McMurray, a gentleman in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, I rode down to Lower Fort Garry to see them off. This place is about twenty miles distant from the Upper Fort, the well beaten high road already mentioned connecting the two places. After passing St. John we rode through a well cultivated country. About five miles from the Fort, at a place called Frog Plain, stands the Scotch Church, the central point of the Scotch Settlement. Here the houses are numerous; in general they are very small, but now and then we passed a comfortable looking roomy dwelling. The English Church of St. Paul came next in sight. It was built of wood, and adjoining it were a school house and parsonage. On our left hand extended a vast unenclosed common called the Image Plain. About half way between the Forts, we came to a

couple of bridges near each other spanning two deep ravines. Close to the second of these stood a solitary water mill, tenantless and forsaken, looking the embodiment of desolation. It had long been totally deserted as useless in consequence of a want of water-power. At this part of the settlement no attempt had been made to enclose any ground on the Plain side of the road, although the river side was cultivated and settled. After a further ride of about two miles, we entered woods which henceforward extended all the way down to the lower end of the Indian Settlement, comprising a space of fully fifteen miles. The road runs through these the whole way, and no house is visible for a long distance except at one spot where, through a long vista in the woods, St. Andrew's Church rears its spire-crowned tower, and the closely clustered whitewashed houses of the St. Andrew's Rapids settlement loom in the distance.

About half a mile from the Lower Fort that establishment becomes visible, and the country is for a short space more clear of trees. Several very comfortable private dwelling houses exist hereabouts, and some of the wealthier residents have from time to time inhabited them. The spot has, from the date of its original settlement, been called "Little Britain." The district between the two Forts may be called the grain country of the settlement, no other region within the municipal boundaries of the colony being on the whole so well cultivated or inhabited by settlers so entirely devoted to agricultural occupations.

We were hospitably received by Mr. Lillie, the gentleman in charge of the Post. His occupation, as such, ceased on the day in question, as he was, when we arrived, on the eve of starting at the head of a flying party, sent to follow and counteract the efforts of another outfitted by private traders to oppose the Company in an inland district. The boats engaged to transport the troops to York, Mr. Lillie's party and that of his opponents, being all about to start together, a considerable crowd had gathered about the Fort to bid them farewell. Among the crowd was Archdeacon Hunter, the incumbent of St. Andrew's; a gentleman who has since that time attained a certain degree of publicity in England. We had to wait for several hours before the boats bringing the



troops came down the river, but when they arrived the scene became one of animation. They dined at the Fort and, after dinner, drew up in order on the bank, marched down to the boats and embarked. We watched them as boat after boat shoved off and slowly dropped down stream, one after the other in turn disappearing round "Sugar" or "Maple Point," which hid them from our view.

Lower Fort Garry, called also the Stone Fort, in allusion to the material of which its houses are constructed, is situated close to the bank of the Red River. The banks at the spot where it stands are very high, and, in consequence, the Fort is favourably situated for the avoidance of the bad effects of the floods during the periods of inundations. The business of the establishment, which is one of the subordinate posts in Red River district, is composed of farming, retail dealing and boat freighting. A large farm has been brought under cultivation in its immediate vicinity; a sale shop is constantly crowded with customers, who purchase goods of all kinds for cash, or barter their furs and agricultural produce for the articles on sale. The post during the summer months is the one at which the boat brigades are outfitted to trip to York or other points inland. The buildings consist of officers' and servants' dwelling houses, shops and stores. These are all enclosed within a stone wall, pierced throughout its entire circuit with a tier of loop-holes, so arranged as to suggest the inquiry whether, in the very improbable event of the place being besieged, they would present greater facilities to the defenders of the establishment, or to the assailants in firing through them at the garrison within.

On the ensuing day, after passing a pleasant evening at this post, Mr. McMurray and I returned to Upper Fort Garry. With a view of seeing more of the country, we followed the track leading close along the banks of the river during the first five miles of our homeward journey. On our way down the day before, while following the public road, we had seen no houses, but now we found the entire distance along the river's bank studded with them until reaching St. Andrew's when, striking away from the river towards our right, we continued our journey over the same track we had followed the preceding day.

Upper Fort Garry, as the residence of the Governor of the territory and as the central point of the Northern Department, may be considered the most important post connected with it. York Factory, however, is the head-quarters of the accountant's department in the service. The business at Fort Garry consists of trading goods for cash, furs or country produce, of forwarding the outfits for certain large districts to their destinations in the interior of the territory, and of banking and transacting a variety of general business with the inhabitants of the settlement. The means by which these affairs are carried on consists of a bonded warehouse, a saleshop, a general office, and sundry stores for pemmican, provisions and other articles of a special nature. Each of these departments is furnished with its staff of clerks, warehousemen and labourers.

The people resident in the Fort form a community of themselves. Regular hours are appointed for the dispatch of business and for meals. At the officers' mess, in conformity with the system of early hours prevalent in the country, breakfast takes place at half-past seven or eight o'clock at different seasons, dinner at two, and supper at six in the evening. Business is transacted in the Company's office between the hours of nine in the morning and six in the evening, with the exception of an hour between two and three o'clock when the office is closed. Generally speaking, this division of time holds good all the year round, though slight modifications take place with the changing seasons and periods of the year when little work is done.

Summer is the busy season, as then all the freighting is carried on and the accounts for the year are closed. It is also a time of much bustle created by the constant arrivals and departures which take place at so central a spot as Fort Garry in a country where locomotion may be called the normal condition of the majority of people during the summer months.

The constant changes of residence, occasioned by the necessities of their condition, render the officers of the Company in Rupert's Land, as a class, somewhat careless about the accommodation afforded by their houses. At remote stations the most simple articles of furniture are held to be sufficient, and shifts are made

to adapt different objects to uses not contemplated by their makers. Cassettes for instance, as the strong compact travelling cases used in the north are called, often constitute the chief pieces of furniture, except perhaps a bedstead, and do duty as chairs and tables. The residents at Fort Garry and other depots are indeed furnished with more of the conveniences of civilization, and means exist whereby such as may be so inclined can render themselves very comfortable. The changes of appointments occur less frequently at head quarters than elsewhere, and, at Fort Garry, such as have use for them, keep horses, cutters and buggies of their own.

The peculiarities of individual taste generally exhibit themselves most strikingly in the selection and disposal of articles of bedroom furniture. The general mass of men certainly confine themselves in this particular to the practical and useful, but, from time to time, a gentleman of independent taste turns up who, with the laudable desire of giving an artistic air to his chamber, graces the useful with more or less of the ornamental. Masks of the faces of men and animals are displayed on the walls in juxtaposition with neatly finished, brightly burnished rifles, shot flasks, powder horns and fire bags. Objects of Indian art in bark, porcupine quill and bead work lend an air of barbaric splendour to the room, while in bold contrast appear pictured representations, set in rude frames, of doings on the British turf, highways and waters. Tom Sayers in deadly conflict with some half-throttled competitor, may be seen in round the last, surrounded by excited and applauding hundreds; high mettled racers, covered with foam, plunge along in a neck and neck rush towards the winning post where an eager crowd of spectators on the grand stand looms away in the far perspective with hands uplifted to welcome the favourite; stage coaches with magnificent posters tear headlong down dangerous inclines to the time of the red jacketed postboy's impossible horn; while an eighteen-inch portrait of "Britannia, the Pride of the Ocean," seated on a sea-girt rock with her trident in her fist, and ugly monsters playing in the green sea waves at her feet, takes the place of honour at the end of the room.

Reading men find abundant leisure to pursue their occupation during the long nights of winter. Books, as the property of

private individuals, from the difficulty involved in transporting them, are more scarce than might be expected. Large libraries, however, for the use of the officers and servants of the Company, exist at various stations in the north. Parties not studiously inclined often pass their spare time in exercising their skill on one of the musical instruments. Of these the violin, on account probably of its portable nature, is most ordinarily selected, and the votary after a series of years passed in sedulous practice, usually attains a certain ghastly facility of execution. Some are admitted to play well, but the style of music aimed at is not a high one. In Red River Settlement the performance of a monotonous jig is one of the most admired feats of musical art, and the performer usually while playing, beats time with his feet so vigorously as to render himself a very disagreeable neighbour overhead. Two storey houses are, however, not numerous outside of the forts.

So common an accomplishment is fiddle playing in the service that violin strings are annually forwarded as part of the regular outfit for sale in the northern districts. The Indians possess no musical instruments of their own, unless among such may be classed the drums which they continue to beat monotonously during the greater part of the day and night, and which they use for purposes both of incantation and of gambling. They may be compared as resembling in form and sound a tambourine.

## CHAPTER XV.

1861.

**Indian Dog Feasts—Conjurors and Medicine making—Arrival of Mr. O'B.—Royal Hotel and Firm of McKenney & Co.—Ride to the Prairie Portage and back to head quarters—Crops—Buffalo Hunts and Fisheries—November—General Quarterly Court—Monkman Murder Case—Mr. William Robert Smith, Clerk of Court and Council—Sketch of his Life in Rupert's Land since 1813.**

**EACH** autumn the Indians generally celebrate one of their Dog Feasts on the Company's reserve in the neighbourhood of Fort Garry. An enclosure about 40 feet long by 25 feet broad, fenced in with the branches of trees, is laid off on the Plain. It is situated due east and west, and has an opening left in the hedge at either end for purposes of entrance or exit. The ceremony occupies two or three days, during which the ground in the interior of the enclosure is crowded with the savages, who sit along side each other drawn up close inside the fence. In a line running lengthways through the centre, are erected perpendicular poles with large stones at their bases, both stones and poles coloured red over different portions of their surfaces with the blood of the dog sacrifice. The animals are selected and killed, and after lying exposed on the stones beside the posts during the performance of certain ceremonies by the "medicine men," whose "medicine bags," composed of the entire skins of wild animals, form an important feature of the ceremony, are cooked and eaten by the company. The dog-meat when prepared presents a very uncouth and repulsive appearance, as it is borne from man to man, in shapeless tin trenchers, that each may select the portion he means to devour.

To the casual spectator such a ceremony as a Dog Feast seems a confused conglomeration of frivolous rites and genuflexions, destitute alike of meaning or design. One might be tempted to

believe that the principal and most rational object of the assemblage was to eat the dogs. Inquiry, however, of any well informed resident in the country, elicits the reply that the unfortunate beings are assembled for what in their eyes is the celebration of a solemn act of communion with spirits. That such communion is real has been believed, I presume, by many clergymen and priests in the country, though of course their theory is that it exists with spirits of darkness. It probably lies much with the accidental bias of each man's mind, whether he inclines to so serious a view of these barbarous proceedings or mentally attributes to them much the same amount of spiritual efficacy, which he would to the fantastic tumblings of some curiously bedizened Ritualistic Divine.

The nominal object of the feast is "to make medicine." What this medicine is, I am unable to state with precision. The Indians have many medicines, composed often of roots, and sometimes possessed of real medicinal virtue. Sarsaparilla, for instance, is used by them. Some are said to be highly poisonous, and even to exercise what I presume would to a physician appear an unaccountable effect. The permanent contortion of feature, the growth of hair over the entire surface of the human body, the eruption of black ineffaceable blotches on the skin, and the causing of abortion and derangement of the female generative organs, are alleged to be consequences of partaking of some of them either by swallowing or inhaling their fumes. Medical gentlemen in the country have differed in their opinions as to the ability of the Indians to cause the above described symptoms, and so far as I can gather, the subject is a difficult one, and reduces itself more to a question of evidence of facts than of the medical properties of roots and drugs.

Certain it is that a brotherhood of "medicine men" exists among the Indians, and those who are without its pale look with much awe on the power of its members. The latter are the great actors in the Dog Feasts. They make medicine for the recovery of the sick, who apply for their assistance, and initiate novices into the mysteries of their fraternity. In payment for each exercise of these offices, a remuneration of some value is required. Besides paying the price of initiation, the candidate must be a man known

to the adepts as eligible. A fast of ten days duration has been stated to me, on oral and reliable testimony, as a necessary preliminary among some tribes to becoming a conjuror. During the time indicated, the novice sleeps among the branches of a tree, where a temporary residence has been fitted up for him. His dreams are carefully treasured up in his recollection, and he believes the spirits who are afterwards to become his familiars then reveal themselves to him. For whole nights, previous to the public ceremony, the principal medicine man, installed in this "medicine tent," instructs his pupils. The quaint party is attended by an individual who beats the "medicine drum," the monotonous tones of which are kept up during the whole time the lesson continues. Among the other mysterious contents of the medicine bags are small images of wood, the presence of which is considered important.

I have never seen any of the feats performed by the conjurors, who, however, if common report is to be believed, are capable of doing strange things; among the most curious of which I have heard is one analogous to the celebrated Davenport trick. Neither from undoubted medicine men, who have been converted to the Christian faith, nor from any others of whom I have heard, has anything worth knowing, in relation to what may be called mysterious about the ceremonies above indicated, been ever elicited. Christian ex-conjurors have, I believe, been known to express an opinion that they had possessed a power when pagans which they were unable to exercise after their baptism. What this belief may be worth, I do not know.

It was, I think, during the month of September, 1861, there arrived in Red River Settlement, by the steamboat from Georgetown, a gentleman who has since become somewhat amusingly celebrated in England in consequence of his connection with a party of travellers, who wrote an account of their journey through the country. This person, whom I do not feel myself justified by naming at length, has become known through the publication referred to by the contracted appellation "Mr. O'B." He had applied to the Right Reverend Doctor Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota, for a situation as schoolmaster, in his Diocese, but the prelate

in question, having no opening of the nature indicated available for him at the moment, advised him to apply to his neighbour, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, who, the Bishop of Minnesota thought, had occasion for the services of a skilful teacher. Deeming a personal visit more likely to be efficacious in forwarding his views, than the slow and uncertain means offered by the post-office, Mr. O'B., though in very destitute circumstances, managed to reach Red River and locate himself in the Royal Hotel, established some years previously by a firm called McKenney & Company. As this firm, both as a whole and in the persons of its individual members, has attracted much attention in the colony, of late years, in order to render more intelligible the events to be hereafter recorded I shall at this stage give a short account of its origin and composition.

In the year 1859 Mr. Henry McKenney came from Canada to establish a business at Red River. He was, I believe, induced to do so by the great amount of public interest concentrated on the settlement at that time, which led him and many others to imagine that a large influx of settlers would at once find their way thither. He found himself one of the few who actually came. On his arrival he commenced a small retail business, which gradually increased until it attained a considerable extent. One department of his exertions consisted of the Royal Hotel, above mentioned, which he founded about three-quarters of a mile from Fort Garry, and which was, I believe, the first venture of the kind ever tried in the colony. The house itself was a well-sized wooden one, which he rented and fitted up comfortably enough for the purpose he had in view. Some time after Mr. McKenney's arrival he was joined by his half-brother, Dr. John Schultz, understood in the settlement to have obtained his degree from a Canadian Medical School, in which he had studied. Dr. Schultz, after his arrival, devoted his attention, during the hours in which it was not engrossed by the practice of the healing art, to the humbler details connected with the hotel and retail traffic of McKenney & Co. Mr. McKenney and Dr. Schultz then composed the firm, and it was into the hotel maintained by these gentlemen that Mr. O'B. dropped one fine day in September, 1861.



The prospects of the latter, so far as any employment which Bishop Anderson could give him was concerned, were very black, the school at St. John's having been closed, and there being as great a deficiency of scholars as of a teacher. Mr. O'B., however, was most considerably received by his lordship, who kindly supplied him with a frequent seat at his table, with books, magazines, and newspapers, and to a certain extent, I believe, with cash. He became quite a temporary celebrity at the Royal Hotel, and was known in the settlement chiefly as "the Irish schoolmaster," Erin having, as was believed, the honour of being the land of his nativity, while the University of Oxford was that at which he was popularly supposed to have studied. His own antecedents, except in so far as he chose to reveal them, were unknown to any one else; not so, however, were those of any one he might meet to him. One of the most remarkable features of the man was his familiarity with the most diverse localities and people, and the facility with which he could make the humble individuals he met believe he knew all about their relatives and homes in other countries. He had visited the Punjab and many other places in Asia, did not seem over fifty years of age, and apparently knew intimately all about the personalities of leading English public men. In default of employment, such as he professed to have at first desired in teaching, he spent a good deal of time and pains in trying to borrow money from different people, under pretence that, could he only raise sufficient to support him during the period necessary to go through a course of theological training, his ordination at the hands of the bishop was certain. His success in this attempt was, however, so small that he relinquished it in despair, and, as his bill at the hotel was getting in arrear, he commenced a round of visits of as many days' duration as he could manage to remain at the houses of such hospitably disposed acquaintances as he had met, reserving the great bulk of his patronage in this way for the clergymen scattered up and down the colony, whose society he apparently found more congenial than that of any other section of the people.

In the month of October I accompanied the Governor on a visit of inspection he paid to one of the outposts in Red River district, called Portage La Prairie, or the Prairie Portage, situated on the

River Assiniboine, about sixty-five miles west from Fort Garry. The trip both ways was to occupy four days, and to be performed on horseback. One fine, breezy afternoon we started, with the intention of getting over the first twenty-five miles of the journey before nightfall. Our route led westward, skirting the Assiniboine over the track which leads to the Saskatchewan Valley and the Rocky Mountains. Three miles from the Fort we passed on our left the Church of St. James, being that of the parish through which the earlier part of our journey lay. Three miles further we reached a very fine part of the settlement named Sturgeon Creek. The high level of this locality saves it from the devastating influences of the periodical floods, and, on this account, it has been thickly settled and brought under cultivation by a number of farmers, all of whom are in comfortable circumstances, while a few are wealthy men. Among the latter I may mention the names of Messrs. John Rowand and James McKay, the former of whom had been both personally and by family ties connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, while the latter has been one of the most experienced hunters on the Plains. Both had erected commodious residences and large farming establishments. Mr. Rowand died in the year 1865.

After passing Sturgeon Creek our track ran through a desolate, uncultivated plain region for some miles until the steeple of Trinity Church, in the parish of Headingley, rose at some distance on our left. The Rev. Mr. Corbett was incumbent of this parish at the time to which I allude. He had some weeks previously been before the public as the author of a series of letters which appeared in the "Nor' Wester," in which the attention of the people had been called to the fact that the Clerk of the Council of Assiniboia had, in certain "state papers," prefixed the objectionable monosyllable "Lord" to the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical title "Bishop of St. Boniface." This, Mr. Corbett contended, was illegal and inexpedient. The "state papers" alluded to were the minutes of council, in the preamble to which the bishop's title was entered along with the names of the other members present at the meeting. Precedent, and the frivolous nature of the matter, when the circumstances of the place and the homely appearance of the record, digni-

fied for the time being with the high-sounding name of state paper, were taken into consideration, might have been fairly pleaded in extenuation of the offence so far as the clerk himself was concerned; but Mr. Corbett objected to the practice as wrong from the beginning. A priest, named Father Oram, and a Catholic miller, named Louis Riel, ultimately came forward as the champions on the other side, and published certain replies to Mr. Corbett in the "Nor' Wester." The grounds on which the Father maintained his view I do not recollect, but the spelling and diction of the miller's communication, a literal translation of which was published, were such as to give the whole affair the best conclusion of which it was susceptible—one of great absurdity. Father Oram has since left the country for the benefit of his health, and the miller is dead.

Not far from the parsonage at Headingley stood the farm house of another local celebrity, named Oliver Gowler. This was an English labourer who came to the settlement in the Company's service in the year 1837, in the capacity of farm servant. His experience in England had been considerable, and his intelligence and perseverance enabled him, on his retirement from the service some ten years subsequently, to turn it to good account. He obtained possession of a piece of land at Headingley, and soon brought it into a high state of cultivation. His commodious farmhouse, with its well-arranged, substantial outhouses, gained him the reputation of being one of the most successful farmers ever resident in the colony. His operations were eminently profitable to himself, and their extent would have been much enlarged had the market for his produce been greater. After the death of Mr. Gowler, which occurred in 1865, his farm was valued at £500.

The sun was setting as we came in sight of the tin-topped spire of the chapel of St. François Xavier, a Roman Catholic establishment, at that date under the care of the Rev. Jean B. Thibault who, after a long career of missionary work in the interior, had settled down in Red River Settlement as a parish priest. The situation and appearance of the church, with its adjoining priests' residence and nunnery standing by the wayside, were somewhat picturesque. Although the houses in the neighbourhood were but rarely visible, from the track they were numerous, and the French

congregation connected with the chapel was a considerable one. After riding forward about five miles beyond the church, a portion of our journey performed in darkness, we were not sorry to find ourselves at the post of White Horse Plain, otherways called "Lane's Post," in allusion to chief trader William D. Lane, who had built it a few years before the date of our visit. That gentleman, himself, on hearing the noise made by our horses, came out to meet us, and we spent the evening along with him.

Next morning I could see about me. Mr. Lane's post was built close to the high bank of the Assiniboine, between which river and the highway it was situated. It was surrounded with a picketed wall. As it had been established chiefly with a view to farming operations, the buildings connected with the post offered large stabling and other farming accommodation. The officer's dwelling house was small and snug.

The distance to be traversed the second day of our journey was forty miles or thereby. As many tracks branched off from the main one we intended to follow, and as all were more or less equally well beaten, Mr. Lane supplied us with a guide who rode ahead on a rough trotting brown horse.

The country round our route was uncultivated, wild and bleak looking. Occasionally the road ran through a morass over which our horses had to pick their steps somewhat carefully to avoid going up to the belly in water. After riding about five hours we reached what was then the little cluster of isolated houses called Poplar Point, and stopped for about an hour to dine and take a rest. One of the houses was immediately opened to us, and our guide set to work in preparing some eatables which he had carried from White Horse Plain. After dinner we set out on our last stage for the Portage. This, which was got through in the cool of the evening, was the pleasantest part of the day's ride. The country, too, grew finer as we advanced. Trees were numerous on the opposite side of the river, where ash, elm, oak and poplar grow. About six o'clock we found ourselves in the midst of an enclosed and cultivated country. Far to the left hand side of the track lay a church and parsonage. They were those of St. Mary, built and occupied by the Venerable Archdeacon Cochran.

About this time it became apparent that our guide was not very sure about his further route. Anxious to explore the country ahead while daylight lasted, I galloped forward as fast as my horse would carry me. The animal was a fine American one, belonging to the Governor, and not at all tired with the exercise of the last two days, went forward at a very respectable gallop indeed. After having got over a few hundred yards, I heard the sound of quick hard trotting behind me, and turned to ascertain the cause. Our guide, who, after riding ahead of the party all day, had fallen into the rear, was now coming towards me at a breakneck speed on his hard trotting animal; but, not thinking anything of the circumstance, and much pleased with the smooth springing speed of my own horse, I kept on my way unmoved. Soon the guide overtook me and, without speaking, rode alongside as hard as ever, apparently anxious to get ahead. To this step, however, my horse would not consent, and both animals had evidently made up their minds to "see it out" when I drew up, continued my journey at a walk, when to my surprise, so did the guide also. When the governor came up he explained that the man had imagined from my sudden galloping ahead I wanted to "steal a march" on him by arriving first at our destination, and as all these Canadian Frenchmen like to arrive at a place with some *éclat*, his ambition had prompted him to act as he had done.

On reaching the post we found it situated on the summit of a pretty steep eminence in immediate proximity to the river bank. Close to it as usual, were pitched some Indian tents. The number of houses at the post were three; an officer's house, a men's house, and a trading shop. Of these the officer's house was then only in course of construction, the carpenters being employed on it when we arrived. The governor and myself took up our quarters in a large room forming the servant's house. No sooner had we entered it than our guide sunk literally exhausted on the floor with his back against a wall, and lay still. It turned out the poor fellow was afflicted with boils, which had broken out on his legs in such a manner that the ride must have been very painful to him. Only on learning this circumstance did we estimate the true difficulty his force of will had spurred him to

surmount in his pursuit of me, although even to a man otherwise in good order for equestrian exercise, the rough trot of the animal he had ridden must have been somewhat trying.

After supper, the principal dish at which consisted of a compound which may be likened to a very palatable kind of Irish stew, our horses having been safely secured within the pale of a neighbouring enclosure, we prepared to make ourselves comfortable for the night between some pairs of blankets which had been spread for us on the floor. In the morning I had leisure to look a little about me. The Prairie Portage is so called on account of an overland journey Indians sometimes make across it with their canoes between the waters of the River Assiniboine and those of Lake Manitoba. The distance is about ten miles. The Company's post there is intended entirely for the Indian trade, and for retail transactions with the people of the neighbouring settlement. The country about it is very favourable for farming pursuits, consisting of prairie land situated at a high level. It is well cultivated by numerous settlers who, I believe, derive a good return for their outlay.

Having got through the business which took us thither we started on the forenoon of the day succeeding our arrival to return homewards. Our guide was so unwell that we had to leave him behind. The return journey was made over precisely the same route we had followed on our way up. In the course of the afternoon we reached the house at Poplar Point, in which we had rested the preceding day, and after again dining there we proceeded to White Horse Plain, which we reached about dusk. Here we were met by the painful intelligence that a little girl, the daughter of Mr. Lane, who had been unwell at the time of our visit on the preceding day, was dead. The medical gentleman, who had been hastily summoned from the settlement, was present, and from him we heard rather a singular story. In accordance with the custom prevalent in the country of burying within a couple of days after death, preparations had been made for the child's interment at the parish of Headingley. An application for the services of the incumbent had been answered by a letter in which it was stated by Mr. Corbett that he was engaged for a dinner party in the

settlement on the day named, but as the weather was cool the corpse would keep till his return. On receipt of the letter containing this announcement and recommendation, the gentleman to whom it was addressed enclosed it, along with another detailing the circumstances of the affair, to the Bishop of the Diocese. The messenger, however, in passing Headingley advised Mr. Corbett that he suspected there was something wrong, and that gentleman, on re-considering the facts, thought so too. He bade the porter return to White Horse Plain with a note from himself, intimating he would be prepared to proceed with the funeral at the time originally proposed.

Under these circumstances, on the ensuing morning, we accompanied the funeral procession to Headingley which, as will be remembered, lay in our route about twelve miles from White Horse Plain. At the entrance of the burial ground, arrayed in his clerical vestments, stood Mr. Corbett, prepared to officiate. At a short distance behind him, on riding to the spot, we recognized Mr. O'B., who, in the course of the tour on which he has been already described as setting out, happened at the time to be staying at Headingley. I did not on that occasion make his acquaintance, as my attention was pressingly called away during the ceremony by the misconduct of my horse, which having become tired of standing still, had managed to run off, carrying the huge fence rail of the burying ground, to which he had been fastened, along with him. After a spirited chase over the Plain, he was secured and we continued our journey to Fort Garry, which we reached without further adventure, in time for a late dinner.

The track over which our journey had taken us was that by which one of the great parties of Plain Buffalo hunters leaves the settlement. Its members usually collect and fall into line of march a little west from White Horse Plain, at which post, as well as at Portage La Prairie, they trade much of the produce of their hunts on their return.

In consequence of the flood which had taken place in spring, the disastrous effects of which have been already alluded to, the crops in the autumn of 1861 may be said to have failed. Wheat, for the growth of which the country is most favourable, yielded a

very poor return, while the barley and potato crops were perfect failures. The misery consequent thereupon was, however, much alleviated by the fortunate circumstance that the Plain buffalo hunts, with the Lake fisheries, turned out well.

The first excitement which broke the monotony of winter was the sitting of the General Quarterly Court, which took place towards the middle of November. There being at the time a vacancy in the office of the Recordership, and the gentleman, who had for some years acted as interim Judge, having died some months previously, the Governor of Assiniboia, who was also acting Governor of Rupert's Land, became Judge ex-officio. Only one case, the trial of which would have rendered the presidency of a professional lawyer particularly desirable, stood on the roll. It was one for murder, and the circumstances were substantially as follows :

Two men, named respectively John Monkman and Pullet Chartrain, had resided as neighbours near Oak Point on the shore of Lake Manitoba, about fifty miles from Fort Garry. They were occupied with the manufacture of salt from the salt springs, abounding where they dwelt. One day, about the middle of August, John Monkman, when labouring under the influence of liquor, went to see his neighbour Chartrain, and obliged him to come to his house. Arrived there, Monkman subjected Chartrain to repeated insults, and eventually roused him to such a pitch of fury that he struck him in the side with a chisel, causing a severe wound. The upshot was the wound became mortal and Monkman died. An inquest was held which led to an indictment being drawn up against Chartrain, for wilful murder. The latter admitted all the facts, but justified himself on the ground of the gross provocation he had received.

It was at the date of the sitting of this Court that I first met a gentleman whose name has already been mentioned in this work. Mr. William Robert Smith, the clerk of Court and Council, came as usual to record the proceedings and perform the other important duties of a routine nature attached to his office. As Mr. Smith's connection with the settlement has been very long and of such a nature as to render him one of the strictly representative men of



the colony, I shall here give a sketch of the principal events of his life since his arrival in Rupert's Land, in the year 1813.

In that year then, after having spent several years as a student, at Christ's Hospital, in London, he came to the country in the capacity of apprentice clerk in the Hudson's Bay Company's service. The Hudson's Bay and the North West Companies were then in the thick of their conflicts. Mr. Smith remained a staunch Hudson's Bay partizan till his retirement from the service in 1824, after the rival bodies had amalgamated. His first winter in the territory was passed at Oxford House, about 250 miles west from Hudson's Bay, a place then in charge of a postmaster named Magnus Birston. In 1814 Mr. Smith proceeded inland to Isle à la Crosse, where he remained for one year under Mr. House, then in charge of English River District. In 1815 he was appointed to Little Slave Lake, between which place and Lac La Biche he spent the interval of eight years between 1815 and 1823. In that year, he came to Norway House, where he passed a winter under Chief Factor Colin Robertson, and proceeded to Red River in autumn, 1824. Here he was informed that the coalition between the rival companies having been effected, a large reduction was about to be made in the staff of clerks, and his services were no longer required. To a man who had passed eleven years of his life in the endurance of many privations, at a scale of pay no time higher than £100 per annum, in the assured hope of gaining promotion in three or four years from that date, his dismissal was an event discouraging and unforeseen. As he had become connected with the country by family ties during his term of service, Mr. Smith declined the passage to England, which was offered him, and turned his attention to farming in Red River Settlement.

The locality he selected as his residence was that already mentioned as "Little Britain," situated in the neighbourhood of the Stone Fort. Mr. Smith was the first to settle there, and he it was who gave the place its name. Between 1824 and 1828, he devoted himself to clearing and cultivating his farm. Seeing his success, others went and settled near him, and soon the river bank became fully taken up. The growth of the parish of St. Andrew's, subsequent to Mr. Smith's settlement at its lower extremity, has already

been commented on in Chapter IX. It was about the same date that Mr. Cochran, to supply the wants of what was then a remote collection of farms, went to reside among the people who had settled in St. Andrew's, among whom Mr. Smith was the first, that the latter was engaged, under the auspices of the Rev. Mr. Jones, and the Church Missionary Society, to give up his farm, and go to live as a catechist at St. John's. Between 1828 and 1832, in consideration of a salary of £100 per annum, Mr. Smith occupied that office. In 1832 he went to reside at a place which he called the Maples, close by the "Middle" or St. Paul's Church. Here, under the patronage of the Church Missionary Society, which assured him of something like £17 a year, he opened a school of his own, which speedily became so successful an enterprise that his house would not accommodate the number of pupils thrust on him. In 1835, while continuing to keep the profits accruing from his own establishment, the situation of parochial schoolmaster was conferred on him, and he continued employed in the duties attached thereto, until, in 1848, he was invested with the offices of clerk of court and council.

Between the years 1828 and 1848, in addition to his regular functions as schoolmaster, Mr. Smith, whose voice and ear were good, performed those of precentor and leader of responses in the different places of worship to which his schools were adjacent. In 1848, however, he discontinued all ecclesiastical and scholastic duty, reserving himself for the punctual fulfilment of his secular offices. Between the years 1852 and 1854, as has been already mentioned in Chapter VII, ex-judge Thom occupied the position of clerk of court and council, at a salary equal to that which he had drawn as recorder. He was never called on to attend court, at which Mr. Smith continued to officiate. The former, however, sat in the council and acted as clerk.

Of late years the situation held by Mr. Smith has entailed duty ever increasing in weight. His functions are officially described as "all such administrative ones as may not be specially assigned to any other person." This involves attendance at four general, and twenty-four petty, courts each year. The former sit at a distance of eight miles from his house, while the latter are held at distances of eight, nine, and thirty-three miles respectively from the same

place. Over these distances the old gentleman has had to travel, sometimes during very inclement weather. He is always, however, a welcome guest at the different houses where it is his wont to stay, and where his arrival is hailed as an opportunity of learning the local news, with which, from his itinerant habits, he is, of course, ever fully supplied. His forensic duties consist of administering the oaths, taking official notes of cases, recording judgments, and handing writs to the sheriff for execution. He has also, since 1867, been president of one of the petty courts, of which he is clerk. For this office, in addition to his pay of £100 as executive officer, the old gentleman received £12 per annum. Its duties add only two journeys of thirty-three miles, for the issue of liquor licenses, to what he would have to perform as clerk, the judicial function being doubtless to him rather a pleasure than a task.

The portion of his duty relating to council consists of giving notice to its members of the dates on which it is convened, of attending himself and recording its transactions, and of communicating officially with outsiders on its behalf.

Mr. Smith, in addition to all the above-mentioned avocations, is one of the collectors of customs for the colony, in which capacity he has to reside at the Stone Fort during certain weeks each year, for the purpose of watching the boats passing inwards and outwards, and make out certain clearances of a sufficiently rude character.

From what I have written it will be readily conceived the subject of my narrative has lived a very active and useful life. The unpaid labours he has undertaken for people in the territory, who have applied to him for official assistance, none but himself knows. He has been the factotum to whom all who wanted information about the country, or relatives resident or deceased therein, have had recourse. In addition to his exertions for the public good, he has, in his private capacity, made many friends, and rejoices in the possession of a family of twenty-two children born to him in the country. From his long residence in the settlement he has seen governors, judges, bishops, and clergymen, not to mention such birds of passage as the Company's local officers, who come and go, himself remaining to record their doings to their successors.

And now he has himself gone from the office he has held so long, in consequence of an illness so severe that for several weeks his life was despaired of. Between the date at which I wrote my first draft of this chapter, and the present, at which I copy it, Mr. Smith has been an invalid. His last visit to the Fort was on business connected with the accumulation of material for this book, in the furnishing of which he bore an important and zealous part. The commencement of the November (1868) session of the general court necessitated the appointment of a successor. The council of Assiniboia, however, in consideration of Mr. Smith's services, have allowed him to retain his full salary for two years, and to remain on half-pay after their expiry so long as the council shall see fit. Many people think this annuity of £50 small enough in return for the services rendered; but Mr. Smith's active career is closed at last, and this veteran pillar of the Church and State has officially followed the long line of dignitaries who have successively become men of the past.

## CHAPTER XVI.

1861-62.

Pomp of Red River Court Procedure—Trial of Paultet Chartrand—Trent Outrage—Local Adventures of Mr. O'B.—His manners and mode of life—Starvation at Red River—British American Overland Transit Company—Saskatchewan Gold Mining—Institute of Rupert's Land—Departure of Mr. O'B. to Pembina—Arrival of Governor Dallas—Return of Mr. O'B. from Pembina—His Adventures there and at Red River—His Departure for the West and Outline of his Journey across the Continent to Victoria, V. I.

THE Monkman murder case then came up for hearing at the General Quarterly Court, which commenced its sittings on Thursday, twenty-first November, 1861. The accused was a tall dark man, and the little box which served as a dock, appeared far too small to hold him. Indeed the whole contents of the Court room were formed on a very diminutive scale. A small bar partitioned off the portion of the room allotted to the accommodation of the general public from that set apart for the officials. At the back of the room rose the bench approached by a couple of steps at each end, and so narrow that it was with considerable difficulty an ordinarily portly Justice could squeeze his way out behind the chairs of his brethren, when in session. Between the bench and the bar, almost the entire width of the space set apart for the officers of the Court, was occupied by a little table covered with green cloth, at which presided Mr. Smith with his Testament, his Record book, a jug of cold water, and some tumblers arranged before him. Close to each other at the bar of the Court stood the dock and the witness box. On the left hand of the Judge were arranged two rows of substantially constructed benches for the gentlemen of the jury.

When the Court had been opened, the incongruity between the size of the officials and the accommodation provided for them

became apparent. The counsel when on their legs upon the floor were nearly face to face with the sitting magistrates, while the prisoner in his elevated box, situated perhaps seven feet from the bench, being moreover a tall man, completely overtopped his judges, regarding them with calm complacency. It may have been that a feeling of the peculiarity of his position smote Chartrain, and that his behaviour was dictated by a delicate impulse to remove the obvious discrepancy, for he passed the greater part of the day in a kneeling posture, which brought him down to somewhat of a level with the Justices before him.

When I mention the "Counsel" pleading before a Red River Court, I use the word in a very limited sense. It frequently occurs that a suitor is unable to conduct his own case, either from want of general ability or ignorance of some of the languages, English, French or Cree, spoken by the witnesses. It also happens that the principal party is absent, or that there is a multitude of parties interested in a case. Under all these possibilities the practice has been allowed of suitors appearing by their agents. These are of course entirely unprofessional men, there being as yet no lawyers resident in the colony, and, making all proper allowances for blunders caused by ignorance of law, and excessive zeal on the part of agents for the interests of their employers, the Recorder has generally been able to dispense substantial justice pretty fairly under this system. The principles of law laid down, and the precedents claimed in their favour, by those legal amateurs, are certainly sometimes of a nature to make the wig of a professional lawyer stand on end;—but the Red River Judge does not wear a wig, and, assisted by the experienced Mr. Smith, the Court always managed to steer its way intact through the stormiest tempests of opposing eloquence which blow at its bar.

Chartrain's trial occupied a whole day. The facts of the case certainly were simple enough, but in this, as in the majority of cases before the Red River courts, the evidence had to be translated by an interpreter for the benefit of parties concerned unable to make themselves intelligible on account of the confusion of tongues. The jury found the prisoner guilty of manslaughter and he was sentenced to a term of nine months' imprisonment. I

may mention, however, that, after six months had elapsed, a petition numerously signed by the settlers, was presented to the Governor, praying for the remission of the remainder of his punishment, and alleging, as a reason why mercy should be extended to him, that his family was in a state of destitution in consequence of his enforced absence. The petition was favourably received, and "the poor fellow, "the murderer" as Mr. Smith pathetically described him, was released from durance vile.

As I have already mentioned, no professional lawyers have yet practised at Red River. Mr. Smith has done a great deal of routine work for private friends, and all documents of an important nature, such as deeds and wills, are drawn up by the Recorder, as agent for the parties requiring them. The court practice would be as nothing to any one who devoted his exclusive attention to it, as the General Court at each of its quarter sessions seldom sits longer than a week. Litigation, too, is extremely cheap. Each jurymen and each witness receives half a-crown *per diem*, for the time his presence is required, and the serving of a writ within the bounds of the settlement costs one shilling. Such agents as usually practise may be got for a trifle, and doubtless many ambitious orators are ever at hand who would consent gratuitously to conduct a case for a needy friend.

It was about Christmas time that intelligence reached Red River of the Trent Outrage, and the capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell. The affair was somewhat alarming as, in the event of a war, which seemed not improbable, our route to England through the United States would be closed, even were no attempt of a hostile nature made upon the settlement, which, in consequence of the withdrawal of the troops already adverted to, found itself destitute even of the semblance of military occupation. The January mails, however, relieved the minds of those who had feared on account of our imports for 1862. During the season of uncertainty conjecture ran high, and all students of international law freely ventilated their opinions. Lord Stowell was in my hearing quoted by an American citizen to prove that Admiral Wilkes had acted in rule. Great was the indignation evinced by Mr. O'B. while reading the accounts of the capture, and trying

to refute and confound in argument such of his American interlocutors as perseveringly cling to the opinion that "they guessed them Britishers would swallow it."

Early in winter Mr. O'B. had returned to the Royal Hotel, and succeeded in perfectly domesticating himself in that establishment. It was then under the exclusive management of Dr. Schultz, whose partner, Mr. McKenney, had gone for a winter personally to superintend the conduct of a free fur-trading venture at the Saskatchewan in which he was concerned. Mr. O'B. being slenderly provided with the sinews of war, had managed to defray his bill by substituting his Oxford wares for the vulgar medium of hard cash; and Dr. Schultz, whose want of skill in the abstruse subtleties of the Attic tongue appears to have weighed on his mind, agreed to avail himself of his guest's erudition in supplementing his deficiencies. Mr. O'B. also arranged to communicate certain elementary instruction to the children of some charitably-disposed residents in his neighbourhood, who were to meet in his room for educational purposes, between eleven and twelve o'clock, each day. In consideration of his services in this respect he was, I believe, paid a handsome fee, which he rigorously exacted in cash, payable in advance. He was not, however, it was currently reported, equally punctual in the fulfilment of his own share of the obligations. He had a bad habit of locking his chamber door, and walking absently abroad with the key safe in his pocket, a few minutes before the time at which his class assembled, nor did he again appear at home until dinner was on the table, and the class, the members of which had, during his absence, been disporting themselves on the stairs and elsewhere, to the inconvenience of the adult residents in the hotel, tired of play, had dispersed to their respective places of abode. Nor was his host much more successful in his nightly lessons in Greek, for frequently when the doctor, surrounded by his text books, was waiting the tardy advent of the tutor, Mr. O'B. would appear, loaded with Blackwood's and other magazines, borrowed from the bishop, and accosting his young friend in the character of host, while loftily ignoring him as pupil, would inform him "he was about to be busy all the evening, that he must really insist the



doctor would permit no intruder, not excepting himself, to disturb him, as he wished to be alone," and thereupon barricaded himself in his private apartment for the evening.

My personal acquaintance with the eccentric character at present under consideration commenced at the house of Bishop Anderson, where we accidentally met one day at dinner. On many subsequent occasions we came together, and indeed latterly Mr. O'B. and myself became somewhat intimate. One day in mid-winter he appeared in the Fort in a state of great misery and excitement. He had absconded, as was his wont, from his mid-day class, and in crossing the bleak unsheltered plain between the hotel and Fort Garry, had the misfortune to be severely frost-bitten on one ear, insufficiently protected against the cold by his miserable apology for a fur cap. On another occasion we met at an evening dancing party, whence he was taken home by Dr. Schultz, under pretence that he was labouring under the influence of liquor, though, on reaching the hotel, he was reported to have severely rated the doctor, whom he seemed to think was the person drunk. I was conversing with him a few minutes before he left, and do not believe there was any sufficient foundation for the imputation, which I understand to have been cast on him chiefly in consequence of his having, in a very overbearing tone, ordered a Red River gentleman to play him a tune on a violin. Having seen the person in question toying with the instrument, he had mistaken him for one of the fiddlers engaged to supply the music, and addressed him in the outrageous tone he ordinarily assumed when speaking to servants.

The conduct of Mr. O'B. in church, which he attended with regularity, was devout, and the loud and vigorous utterance with which he read the responses highly calculated to produce an impression in his favour on the minds of his simple fellow-worshippers. I have myself shared the cutter in which Dr. Schultz and he were accustomed to drive home together to the Royal Hotel after the conclusion of Divine Service, and benefitted by the remarks of Mr. O'B. on his Lordship's sermon, or the appearance and conduct of members of the congregation. These remarks and criticisms were sometimes made through chattering teeth, as

the biting wind blew in our faces, and Dr. Schultz would request Mr. O'B. to "give a word of encouragement to that poor horse of his." "Go on, go on," O'B. would shout as he cowered down shaking with cold, from which I fear he was most inadequately protected by his clothing, the outer portion of which, consisting of a great coat, had been made for him by a local tailor whom he desired to patronize, and who had sold him a very homely article indeed.

On reaching the hotel, however, cheered by the genial warmth from a comfortable stove, and by the prospect of dinner, the poor man's feelings quickly expanded, and he became jocular and garrulous. Seated on the well-stuffed sofa of the common room, he disposed himself to be agreeable, and entertained all listeners with his small talk. That sofa indeed was the seat of state on which I generally found him throned when at home, and from amidst its cushions his eloquence went forth, as, with a newspaper in one hand and his pipe in the other, he enlightened his hearers on the topics of the day. Singling out from the circle an auditor whom he thought he could have at an advantage, he would engage him in argument on some subject discussed in the newspaper he held in his hand, or on which he and his opponent had on any previous occasion had a debate. The large maps published by Messrs. Dawson and Hind, showing the results of their explorations between Lake Superior, Red River Settlement and the Saskatchewan, pasted on the walls of the room, furnished the inexhaustible talker with abundant matter, and, as already mentioned, the Mason and Slidell affair lay much on his mind. Highly did the patriotic O'B., after the settlement of that troublesome business, extol the statesmanlike temper with which Lord Lyons had behaved; and most contemptuous were the expressions he applied to those precocious Americans who had presumptuously believed it to be in the power of their confederation of yesterday to provoke the time-confirmed Mistress of the Seas to put forth her power in aught save contempt to crush them.

"When a gentleman is insulted by a chimney sweeper," exclaimed Mr. O'B., "the gentleman does not usually turn about and administer the merited chastisement on the person of his

sooty antagonist; because, he knows that, in any conflict with such an opponent, even victorious, he will be worsted. So the matter stands between the United Kingdom and the United States; Britannia would only soil her knuckles in hitting Uncle Sam." After the public expression of sentiments such as these, I thought it superfluous on the part of Mr. O'B. one day to request me in private to mention his antipathy against the Yankees to nobody; as he feared, he observed, if his opinions should become known among the American ruffians resident in the settlement, he would have his ribs tickled on his way home some dark night, by that instrument so veritably characteristic of their civilization—the bowie knife.

The spring of 1862 was a period of starvation in Red River Settlement. Daily, dozens of starving people besieged the office of the gentleman in charge at Fort Garry, asking for food, and later in the season for seed wheat. By a grant of eight hundred bushels wheat, allowed by the Governor and Council of Assiniboia, the bulk of the poorer classes were supplied with seed and grain to feed them until, with the spring, the means of gaining a livelihood became available. It was during this spring intelligence reached the settlement of the formation of a company in England called the British American Overland Transit Company, the ostensible object of which was to convey passengers overland by St. Paul and Red River to the gold mining regions at Cariboo and British Columbia. No agent of this company ever appeared at Red River, and no operations were undertaken to carry out the proposed programme. We heard subsequently that a number of misguided individuals had crossed the Atlantic in a ship supplied by the company, but, on arriving at St. Paul, had their eyes opened to the fact that they had been grievously misled. The real difficulties to be surmounted in the journey between Red River and Cariboo have since that date been pretty generally shadowed forth on the public mind, having been described by parties practically conversant with the route. I shall require to enlarge on this subject hereafter; and now content myself with stating that the distance between Red River and New Westminster is nearly the same as that between Paris and Constantinople, and leads

through an uninhabited wilderness, to erect the necessary accommodation for postal communication along which would require the preparation of years, even were the Indian tribes favourable to the scheme.

Reports of gold-finding in the Saskatchewan Valley were current in 1862. Mr. Timoleon Love, already mentioned in Chapter V. as having travelled from Georgetown in the same steamer with myself, remained in Red River during the winter, and stated his belief that, from the indications he and another miner, named Clover, had observed, the Saskatchewan would prove an auriferous country. These two men had never been successful in finding any rich deposit; but they had found what in technical mining language are called "colours," which led them to believe the country about the sources of the Saskatchewan and Peace Rivers would yield large quantities of gold.

During the earlier months of 1862 attempts had been made to inaugurate a scientific association in the colony to be called the "Institute of Rupert's Land." Dr. Schultz was, I believe, the principal mover in the matter at first, and when the project had attained certain proportions, was appointed secretary. The principal people in the colony were its members, and the proposal was seriously entertained to get up a public subscription with the object of obtaining for the institute a telescope and microscope to perpetuate the memory respectively of Sir George Simpson and the recently deceased Doctor Bunn. The new society commenced its operations by appointing officials and communicating through them with some of the leading learned bodies in Canada and the United States. From all these correspondents the announcement of its inauguration drew forth answering expressions of hearty encouragement and congratulation, accompanied, in some instances by presents of books and offers of co-operation.

The business on the spot was commenced by the delivery of an inaugural lecture by the Bishop of Rupert's Land, president of the Institute. The first check it encountered was from an article printed in the "Nor' Wester" referring to the Simpson telescope in terms which were construed to imply a slur on the memory of the celebrated character, to the perpetuation of whose name the instru-

ment was to be dedicated. The result was that neither the Simpson telescope nor the Bunn microscope were ever procured, and, in spite of the great names connected with the institute, nothing of a practical nature has been as yet done to advance its interests.

Towards the beginning of March, symptoms became apparent that the further residence of Mr. O'B. at the Royal Hotel was considered undesirable. He was repeatedly in the fort making inquiry about lodging in the settlement or the possibility of his getting a passage by any of the Company's conveyances which might be travelling to Pembina, to secure private lodgings in the settlement, he said, was his favourite project. What he wanted was quietness, and the consequent facility for writing up his journal and making copious notes, all of which he intended one day to publish. That such a document as an authentic detailed account of his life and observations would be most interesting and curious, none who had seen much of the man pretended to doubt. During his residence at Red River, he had found friends willing to pay his way for him, without his troubling himself even to refrain from indiscriminate comments on their peculiarities and idiosyncrasies as apparent to him, while his exertions to procure insight into the customs and ideas of the people at large were untrammelled by anything like bashfulness or reserve. Of his manner of gaining such information, a curious and amusing description was given me by a clergyman resident in the settlement. The first chance wanderer he might happen to meet on the highway would be stopped by the question, "Well! my friend, and what is *your* name?" That ascertained, a flow of interrogatories would succeed of which the following are specimens. What is your father? How old is he? How old are you? What wages does your father get? How much do you get? What church do you belong to? What makes you go *there*? Where does your father stay? What does he eat? Does he drink? Do *you* drink? How do you like your minister? Does *he* drink? How much does he get? Where was your father born? How long has he been in this country? Where were you born? By closely pressing such questions as these, Mr. O'B. had contrived to accumulate much statistical information about things and people in the countries through which he had passed.

When spring was at hand, Bishop Anderson presented Mr. O'B. with a sum of money fully sufficient to defray his expenses as far as Canada, along with some general letters of recommendation to parties who might be expected to interest themselves on behalf of a poor scholar. Provided with these, Mr. O'B. set out on the first stage of his journey to Pembina, and for some weeks nothing further became publicly known of him in the settlement.

On the afternoon of Sunday, the 18th of May, Alexander Grant Dallas, Esq., the gentleman appointed to succeed Sir George Simpson as Governor of Rupert's Land, arrived at Fort Garry. He had travelled on horseback over the Plains from Georgetown, leaving his family and servants to follow him down the river in the steamboat. The arrival of Mr. Dallas had been an event long expected. So early as the preceding autumn, Mr. Murray at Georgetown had been on the *qui vive*, and during the month of January, that gentleman may be said to have existed on the tip-toe of expectation that every stage coach would bring the Governor. On one occasion it is credibly reported that, having seen in the distance symptoms of the excitement, consequent on the presence of an unusual style of passenger in the advancing vehicle, he had supplied his servants with guns and ammunition, preparatory to receiving the expected dignitary with a peal of joy. Forward came the coach, portions of a military-looking garb were descried on the person of a passenger; the sleigh drove up to the station house; pop went the guns and forth stepped the new arrival in the person of a full private soldier in the service of Uncle Sam.

Dog trains had been sent from the settlement during the month of January to bring the Governor and his party thither from Georgetown. Towards the close of February, however, they returned along with two of the Company's officers who had been in England on furlough, and who brought the intelligence that Mr. Dallas would not come for some time after them. On his arrival in May, he turned his attention to gaining a practical acquaintance with the settlement and its inhabitants, the principal of whom he visited. His arrival was heralded by the "Nor' Wester" in an article teeming with expressions of adulation, and giving a narrative of his personal antecedents.

On the Saturday after the advent of the Governor, arrived Mr. Hackland, the gentleman in charge of Pembina, accompanied by an individual we had not expected again to see in the settlement. Mr. O'B. on reaching Pembina in spring on his way to Canada, had managed to quarter himself in the Company's fort, and ingratiate himself with the somewhat gruff Mr. Hackland. After residing there about three weeks he went to St. Joseph, an American village about thirty miles from Pembina. When the spring thaw commenced he returned on foot to the Fort, and as, during his residence at one place or the other he had squandered away all the money he possessed, he determined to return to the settlement in one of the boats, in which Mr. Hackland was taking the furs he had traded during the winter, down the river to Fort Garry. During this trip he was obliged to work his passage as one of the crew.

In the course of his few weeks residence at Pembina some of his peculiarities had become unpleasantly apparent. He hummed much to himself an air described as something like such a dirge as may be heard at a Romish choral service for the burial of the dead. This amusement he varied by frequent smoking. The pipe he most used consisted of a large bowl of burned clay with a cane stem. While smoking, it was his custom to keep beside him a tumbler of cold water, with which, from time to time, he would moisten his lips. On one occasion, while sitting smoking in the same room with Mr. Clark, the officer second to Mr. Hackland in the Fort, his water was finished, and, in a tone imperatively insolent, he ordered his companion to "go and fill that tumbler." Clark laconically replied, "Go yourself." O'B. repeated his order with increased insolence, on which the other replied with justifiable asperity, and a "royal row" broke out in the establishment.

This was not the only occasion on which Mr. O'B. permitted himself to use reprehensibly great license of speech. Displeased with the poor fare, composed partly of pemmican, which was used at Pembina during that spring season of unwonted scarcity, he plainly told his host and messmates, "they lived like dogs." Unable to move the officers, he turned his attention to the servants. Nettled at the want of polish given to his boots, he one day visited the kitchen and severely reprimanded Donald MacDonald,

a fiery little Stornoway cook, for his negligence in the particular complained of. Donald told him there was no blacking at Pembina, where, indeed, the people were almost invariably shod with moccasins, as the Indian shoes made of dressed moose deer skin are called. Unappeased by the explanation, Mr. O'B. peremptorily ordered the cook to brush his boots, and closed his remark by violently flinging the articles indicated on the floor. Donald, whose patience at length failed him, seized the boots, and flung them, with all the force and expertness of aim he could summon to his aid, after the retreating theologian. The scene of confusion which ensued the reader must picture to himself.

Tired of scenes such as these the people at Pembina privately questioned the truth of Mr. O'B.'s statement that his friends in the settlement would gladly receive him on his return, for which they anxiously looked, but, in conversation with their guest, though admitting the devotion of his friends was to them incomprehensible, they strongly urged him to profit by it and relieve them from his company. The effect of his arrival on one of his settlement acquaintances, I had an opportunity of witnessing. Accompanying the new Governor on his introductory tour of visits, I called on Archdeacon Hunter before the intelligence of O'B.'s return had penetrated so far as St. Andrew's. Mr. O'B. had personally waited on the Governor and given him the opportunity of witnessing enough of his peculiarities to excite his curiosity to know more. "Do you know any thing, Mr. Hunter," quoth Mr. Dallas, "of a person named O'B. at present in the settlement?" On catching the name of his friend of the preceding winter, the Archdeacon turned briskly round with a smile, but, when the ominous word "at present in the settlement" stole in their true meaning on his comprehension, his expression became one of unfeigned dismay. With jaw dropped and fixed eyes he stammered, "What! Governor, you cannot mean he has returned?" Aye! it was too true; and the Archdeacon, with great plainness of speech, recounted his past sufferings with vehement assertions that he could not stand their repetition.

The phase of Mr. O'B.'s manners on which Mr. Hunter laid most stress was his singular passion for, and method of pursuit of,



nocturnal studies. The chamber he ordinarily occupied, when located in the parsonage of St. Andrew's, contained a cabinet of books, in perusal of which Mr. O'B. would pass the greater portion of the night, if perusal the series of actions could be called which consisted of reading with a loud voice, walking heavily and rapidly to and fro, and raising a multitude of noises, as if of thumping and jumping, the precise nature and mode of generation of which nobody in the house could explain, though in the solemn silence of the night they kept everybody wide awake.

On the Sunday succeeding our visit, Archdeacon Hunter was drawing to the close of his afternoon discourse when the outer door of his church was heard to open and shut with an impatient jerking sound. Curiously peering into the gloom to ascertain what the unusual circumstance might portend, the preacher saw, as through a sickly mist, the form of Mr. O'B. advancing along the aisle, with his stout wooden cudgel firmly grasped in his right fist. The first impulse of the startled dignitary was to kneel down and conceal himself in his own pulpit. Second thoughts, however, suggested a forlorn hope of evading his pursuer in the vestry. Vain was the thought. The inevitable O'B., after the conclusion of service, penetrated to the place of refuge, and informed Mr. Hunter he had some half hour previously arrived on foot from the upper part of the settlement, and being dusty and heated, had made himself at home in the Archdeacon's own private rooms, while he and the family were at church.

The general coolness shown him by every one was, however, such that even O'B. could not prevail against. He was seen frequently conversing with some miners, whose journey from Canada to Cariboo will shortly engage our attention, and finally made up his mind to accompany them over the Plains. Among his last acts in the settlement he paid a farewell visit to Bishop Anderson. His Lordship at the termination of the interview accompanied him to the outer gate and said, "Well, Mr. O'B., let us shake hands at parting," or words to that effect. "Never, never! No, sir! No, sir! No, sir!" exclaimed the poor wanderer. "You have deceived me, you have deceived me, I shall see you no more!" It is probable these words were the most gratifying the Bishop had ever heard

from O'B. ; but Dr. Anderson's hand was open to all the needy, and it is impossible for me to form any decided opinion as to whether or not the spirit in which his benefactions had been received ever ruffled his tranquil mind.

As I have not arrived at the point where my personal recollections of Mr. O'B. cease, I think it well to conclude my notice of him by a synopsis of his adventures until, having arrived on the western side of the mountains and finally quitted the country, he disappears in the crowd of men.

The Rev. Thomas Cochran, on coming as usual to the chapel at Poplar Point to conduct divine service, was one day much surprised to find among his Prairie congregation a gentleman from Oxford. He invited him to go home with him, and introduced him to his father, Archdeacon Cochran, at Portage La Prairie. The very retired life the Archdeacon had led for some years accounts for his having received no intelligence of the doings of Mr. O'B. during the previous winter. He made him welcome to St. Mary's, and finally assisted him to negotiate a passage over the Plains. Before starting he presented him with a "piece," or box weighing about 100 pounds, containing, to use the felicitous expression of Archdeacon Hunter in the account with which he favoured me of his persecutor's departure, "eatables, drinkables and smokables."

We next heard of him in the Saskatchewan, where he passed the winter, principally living in a hut near Edmonton along with some gold miners and partly at the Wesleyan Mission of Victoria, about fifty or sixty miles from that place, with the Rev. Thomas Woolsey. This journey from the settlement to Edmonton had been performed by stages succeeding each other at irregular intervals. From the Prairie Portage he had gone with the party of Canadian emigrants on their way over land to Cariboo, acting as chaplain to the expedition ; but his companions found their spiritual adviser so useless and troublesome in secular matters that they shook him off at Carlton. He was permitted to embark in one of the Hudson's Bay Company's boats, then about to start on its return trip up the Saskatchewan to Edmonton. His insolently overbearing manner, however, so irritated the crew that he was put

ashore at Fort Pitt, but succeeded in getting a passage overland from that place to Edmonton by a train of carts going that way.

The Rev. Mr. Woolsey described his guest as having lived in a chronic state of bodily fear. Besides the wild animals, of which wolves and grizzly bears were the objects of his special dread, he stood in much fear of the Indians, and anxiously questioned Mr. Woolsey about the character of the successive tribes of those people arriving at the mission. His mental eye saw the whole savage population of the district divided into two grand classes, Mr. Woolsey's "Good Christian Indians" and the "Wild Pagan Indians of the Plains." He seems to have afforded the savages with whom he came in contact some amusement, and ridiculous interviews between him and them appear to have taken place from time to time. One of Mr. Woolsey's converts came to the mission on an occasion when, owing to the temporary absence of the clergyman, Mr. O'B. was alone in the room, in which, as usual, the Indian prepared to make himself at home. His words and gestures, incomprehensible to O'B., so alarmed the latter that he beat a very ludicrous and nimble retreat, nor was it without much soothing that his host could induce him to relax his demand that the murderous looking party indoors should be incontinently expelled.

He had lived for a winter in great wretchedness near Edmonton when, in the spring of 1863, the miners who had shared his cabin started for the west side of the Rocky Mountains, leaving him alone. While in this condition the arrival of Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle, who, having spent the preceding winter in a hut about fifty miles north from Carlton, were then on their way to the Pacific Coast, gave him a gleam of hope. He introduced himself to these gentlemen, and requested permission to join their party. He also feigned sickness and placed himself, as a patient, in the hands of Dr. Cheadle. The doctor subjected him to "active treatment" for several days, on the expiry of which he confessed his malady was imaginary and assumed merely as an occasion for obtaining private interviews during which he might urge his real suit, a definite reply to which had not been immediately given. His ingenuous confession did not, however, save him from being compelled to swallow a final "tremendous dose of rhubarb and

magnesia" forced on his acceptance by Dr. Cheadle under pretence that he really was unwell though ignorant of the fact.

Mr. O'B. had also urged the danger consequent on the presence of wolves and grizzly bears in the immediate neighbourhood of his hut as a reason for taking up his quarters under one of his patron's carts. Finally his request was acceded to, and he joined Lord Milton's party, a "subscription horse," along with provisions for his journey, having been presented him by the Hudson's Bay officers at Edmonton. The events of the journey over the Rocky Mountains have been related in most amusing detail by Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle in their joint work entitled "The North West Passage by Land." Mr. O'B. turned out a heavy drag to the party, the guide to which, a half-breed named "the Assiniboine," could not comprehend the motives of humanity which prompted his employers to reject his practical suggestion that O'B. should be abandoned in the wilderness. His chief efforts throughout were directed to getting others to do his work, of which, when any particularly difficult piece was to be performed, such for instance as cutting down trees and carrying logs, he invariably absented himself. On such occasions, after his friends had spent some time in shouting and searching for him, he was generally found buried in some sequestered copse in the vicinity, placidly smoking his pipe, and diligently reading Paley's "Evidences of Christianity," the last remnant of his library and the only book he had with him.

To his fears of wolves and grizzly bears were now added those caused by "the Assiniboine," whom he suspected of harbouring a design to murder him, and who, on the rejection of his above described advice, used to stimulate Mr. O'B., when as usual he lagged slowly behind the party, by hiding himself in the woods, growling and howling in such a manner that his victim, believing bears and wolves to be on his track, made all haste to overtake his friends. After a journey of three months, during which Mr. O'B. had narrowly escaped death by fire on one occasion, when the forest round their camp had been accidentally ignited from their fire, near the elbow of the McLeod River, and by water on another, when, while crossing the Canoe River, on the west side of the

Mountains, the raft was submerged, the travellers issued intact from the forest country at Kamloops.

Mr. O'B., whose faith in the Evidences had waxed and waned with the emergencies of the route, "signalized his return to Christianity" at Victoria by getting reconciled to the Assiniboine, shaking hands with his fellow-travellers, and "assuring them he bore no ill will, and would forget and forgive all his sufferings on the journey." The concluding notice of him I beg to quote:—"Like the Wandering Jew or the soul of the celebrated John Brown, that migratory gentleman is doubtless still marching on. When we returned to Victoria, after our journey to Cariboo, Mr. O'B. had departed. He had moved on to San Francisco. When we arrived in that city, he had moved on to Melbourne, Australia. From there he had probably moved on to New Zealand, or again reached India, to circle round to England in due course, happy in any country free from wolves, grizzly bears and Assiniboines. Of his further career at the Antipodes no intelligence has been received."

On the appearance at Red River of the book containing the above noted account, along with many other entertaining and amusing anecdotes illustrative of the character of the itinerant scholar, the *Nor' Wester* produced a long article criticizing it. That sheet was owned and edited at the time by Mr. O'B.'s old host and Greek pupil, Dr. Schultz. This circumstance may account for the prominence given to the portion of the work specially referring to O'B., whose name was, to prevent mistakes, printed at full length in the critique.

I believe him to have been considerably used by his fellow travellers who have confined themselves to the elucidation of the ludicrous side of his character, and the tone in which he is mentioned towards the close of their work leads one to suppose that these gentlemen harboured no bitterness of feeling in contemplation of the inconveniences to which he had exposed them. No one, I think, is likely to finish the perusal of the book without wishing the poor scatter-brained wanderer a settled home, an adequate provision, and a happier life than he appears to have enjoyed during his pilgrimage in Rupert's Land.

## CHAPTER XVII.

1862.

**Steamer "International"—Mr. Piper McLellan—Fur Trading—Canadian Emigrants to Cariboo—Sketch of their Journey across the Continent—Portage La Loche Brigades and Guides—Sketch of Tour of Inspection through the Territory made by Governor Dallas—Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle; their Sojourn in Rupert's Land, their Book and Sketch of the Route from Red River to the Pacific Coast—Judge Black and his first Court.**

On 26th May, 1862, the steamer "International," built the preceding autumn at Georgetown, arrived at Fort Garry. She was about 150 feet long, 30 broad and 20 feet from the water line to the ceiling of the elevated saloon. Her registered tonnage was 133½ tons. She had taken seven days to run from Georgetown to Fort Garry, which was considered a very long passage. So large a steamer was found unsuited to the river, the upper reaches of which are so tortuous that her length seriously embarrassed her movements. Her shallow draft, however, only 42 inches, was supposed likely to counterbalance all the other defects attendant on her plan, which had been framed chiefly in view of the small depth of ordinary summer water in the Red River.

Nearly two hundred passengers travelled on board her upon her first trip. Governor Dallas' family and servants, and the Bishop of St. Boniface, accompanied by a staff of fellow-labourers of different grades and orders in the Roman Catholic church, arrived by her. The new judge, also, John Black, Esquire, was a passenger. Several private individuals came for the purpose of purchasing furs in the colony; but the great bulk of the passengers consisted of about 160 Canadians, who had come with the intention of pioneering an overland route across the continent to Cariboo.

Mr. John McLellan, the governor's valet, was a Highlander and played upon the bagpipes. His advent in Red River at once

became a marked event, as, in the cool of the evening, it was his custom to pace to and fro upon the parapet gallery erected along the Fort wall in front of the Governor's residence, playing the complicated instrument, in the manipulation of which his skill lay. He wore, on such occasions, the approved "Garb of old Gaul," and crowds of the savages camped on the Reserve, came to gaze on the novel spectacle of "the piper," as he was called, marching his rounds upon the wall, from the exterior of which the upper part of his person, with its gaudy dress, crowned with the feathered Glengarry, and the ribboned pipes, appeared to the untutored natives somewhat remarkable. With a gently favouring breeze, the music he blew reached also the ears of the Scotch portion of the settlement in their homes between four and six miles distant, and was doubtless highly appreciated. At the Scotch church on Sundays, the piper was, of course, the centre of an admiring throng of settlers, whose previous knowledge of such a turn-out had been probably derived from tradition. To his other accomplishments the piper added that of being a good joiner, having served a regular apprenticeship to the trade. He was also a practitioner in the "noble art of self-defence." It was in a discussion with the Fort carpenter, connected with some details about the woodwork of the Governor's house, that his pugilistic proclivities first took a practical turn. The carpenter, being a garrulous little man, so irritated the piper that the latter struck him such a blow as was said to have caused the recipient to turn a somersault on the kitchen floor.

Satisfied, probably, with his success in this instance, as regarded conflict with man, he was next pugilistically heard of as solicitous to measure strength with a more formidable opponent. A moose-deer, the property of the King of Italy, which was kept in a place of security near Fort Garry until an opportunity should occur of forwarding it to Europe, as an object of public curiosity quite eclipsed the bagpipes. One day the piper, forming a unit in a crowd admiring from a safe distance the magnificent bounds of the animal, got into an altercation with some by-standers, with reference to the comparative strength possessed by the animal and a human being. To settle the matter, he offered to go forward and fight

the moose deer, making, while speaking, preparations for instant action. His friends, who at first thought him joking, had some difficulty in dissuading him from a course which would in all human probability have terminated fatally for him.

This belligerent character, after remaining in the service of the Governor for the two years of his residence in the country, quitted it in 1864, and proceeded to St. Paul with the intention of resuming the practice of his old trade. On his way through Minnesota he had adjusted all the preliminaries for his marriage with one of the girls of that state, when a travelling companion prevented the solemnity by disclosing the circumstance that the bridegroom had already one wife living in Scotland. After this failure the only tidings which ever reached us of him came through the newspapers. He had been engaged as the principal character in a political demonstration in favour of a candidate for office called in the newspapers by the unusual name "Mac Pendleton." After blowing all day like a man, the piper, towards evening, began to indulge in stimulating drinks, which, said the St. Paul Press, as he had blown himself hollow, settled in his feet, and made him light-headed."

The result was a fracas, and attempt to stab a citizen, which led to his apprehension and imprisonment, about one o'clock on Sunday morning. On Monday he was liberated, on payment of a fine of ten dollars. The *Nor' Wester* through which I gained my information, headed the narrative "MCLELLAN'S BAG PIPES BAGGED."

The parties who came by the steamer with the object of fur-purchasing, were among the first of a series of arrivals which have been taking place for some years past, the ultimate result of whose operations will doubtless be the creation of a fur market in the colony. Under the privileges granted by the Hudson's Bay charter, indiscriminate fur-trading in the settlement is illegal, and, until about the year 1861, very little of it existed. In that year four individuals resident in the colony fitted out boat expeditions to penetrate into the interior of Rupert's Land, and trade with the Indians. One of these, sent by Mr. Andrew McDermot, consisting of two boats, was considered so formidable that a special opposing party was sent by the Company to coun-



teract its efforts. The departure of these hostile expeditions from the settlement, which occurred at the same time as that of the transports conveying the Royal Canadian Rifles to York Factory, has been already alluded to in a former chapter. Each of the three other ventures made that year consisted of only one boat. The system of private trading, by means of expeditions sent to barter with the Indians in the interior during the winter season, as well as by cash purchases made in the Red River Settlement by traders arriving from the United States in spring, has of late attained considerable proportions. The prices given for furs have been very high, and if a profit can be made on such transactions as take place, the circumstance is strange, and the fact that the same people or their agents persevere from year to year, would seem to vouch for its truth.

After a residence in the settlement of about a fortnight, during which they supplied themselves with guides and provisions for their journey, the party of Canadian emigrant miners set out for Cariboo. Mr. Love, the person already repeatedly mentioned, started with them, and Mr. O'B., until left behind at Carlton, officiated as chaplain to the detachment with which he travelled.

The history of the journey made by this party over the mountains is instructive, as containing the result of a great experiment. The most trustworthy materials I can find for constructing the narrative exist in the book already referred to by me, Lord Milton's and Dr. Cheadle's "North West Passage by Land." These travellers, on their arrival in British Columbia, met and conversed with persons who had been members of the expedition, and have noted in their book information gathered on the spot.

The entire party which passed Red River in June, 1862, may be regarded as consisting of four sub-divisions. Of these, three passed over the Rocky Mountains during the autumn of 1862, while the fourth, consisting of three individuals, after wintering in the Saskatchewan, crossed the mountains in the spring of 1863. So far the success of the party must be considered as undoubted, seeing that some of the most experienced of Red River travellers believed it highly probable the bulk of the party would winter in Saskatchewan.

Of the three parties which got over in 1862, the first two, containing the vast bulk of the emigrants, travelled in one body to Tête Jaune Cache, called in English, "the yellow head," a spot on the Fraser River on the west side of the mountains. Here they divided, and one party, having constructed large rafts, floated down the Fraser River to their destination at the mouth of Quesnelle, where they arrived in safety, with the loss of one man who died from disease caused by the hardships he had undergone. The second sub-division which had started from Tête Jaune Cache, with the object of cutting their way directly overland across the country to Cariboo, and which consisted of about sixty men, after convincing themselves of the futility of persevering in their original plan, turned southwards with the intention of going by land to Kamloops. Various considerations, however, soon induced them to abandon the idea of land travelling, and, after killing all their oxen and drying the meat, they constructed large rafts, and floated down the Thompson river, abandoning all their horses, numbering between forty and fifty. At a place called Murchison's, or the Grand Rapid, a fatal accident occurred. The men on the leading rafts, not seeing the obstruction, until they were so near that their exertions were useless, were sucked into the stream and many of them drowned. The remainder, after making a portage, constructed new rafts and floated down without further deadly adventure, to Kamloops.

The third division, which consisted of only five Canadians, crossed the mountains later in the autumn. The fearfully tragical nature of their fate must be my excuse for giving its story in some detail. Of the five members of the party three were brothers, named Rennie, the two others being named respectively Helstone and Wright. At Tête Jaune Cache they obtained two canoes, with which they intended to sail down the Fraser. In order to shoot the dangerous rapids with greater safety, they lashed their canoes together. Their misfortunes commenced by the swamping of their craft and the loss of their property. Two of the brothers Rennie swam ashore while the other three men reached a rock in the middle of the stream. The latter remained for two days and nights on the rock without food, and suffering severely from the

cold of the opening winter. They were at length enabled to escape by means of a rope passed from the shore. They were, however, so frost-bitten and exhausted that they could proceed no further. The two Rennies, seeing their condition, determined to leave them, and, after having cut for their use a quantity of fire-wood and given them almost all their scanty provisions, set out on foot to seek assistance at Fort George, which they hoped to reach in six days.

It took them, however, twenty-eight days to penetrate through the deep snow and dense forests which intervened between the place where they had left their brother and friends and the Fort. The Indians who were immediately dispatched from the latter place to bear assistance to the sufferers returned, alleging the depth of snow as a barrier to their journey. I shall complete my narrative by a quotation from "the North West Passage by Land, by Viscount Milton and Doctor Cheadle."

"Other Indians, however, discovered the party some time afterwards. Helstone and Wright were still alive, but, maddened by hunger, had killed Rennie. When they were found, they had eaten all but his legs, which they held in their hands at the time. They were covered with blood, being engaged in tearing the raw flesh from the bones with their teeth. The Indians attempted to light a fire for them, when the two cannibals drew their revolvers, and looked so wild and savage, that the Indians fled and left them to their fate, not daring to return. The following spring, a party of miners, on their way to Peace River, were guided by Indians to the place where those men were seen by them. The bones of two men were found piled in a heap; one skull had been split open by an axe, and many of the other bones showed the marks of teeth. The third was missing, but was afterwards discovered a few hundred yards from the camp. The skull had been cloven by an axe, and the clothes stripped from the body, which was little decomposed.

"The interpretation of those signs could hardly be mistaken. The last survivor had killed his fellow-murderer and eaten him, as shown by the gnawed bones so carefully piled in a heap. He had in turn probably been killed by Indians, for the principal part of the dead men's property was found in their possession."

The fourth party of Canadians, consisting of the three who had wintered in Saskatchewan, after descending the Fraser River in canoes, reached their destination without accident.

The above is an account of the performance of the overland journey by a party of men, all of whom were in the prime of manhood and accustomed to the execution of work involving physical hardships. They carried no useless luggage, and their object was to obtain a cheap and expeditious passage. The effort was therefore made under the most favourable circumstances. No attempt has, however, been since made by other parties to follow in their footsteps.

Early in June, in the usual order, the two brigades of Portage La Loche boats left the settlement for the Portage. As the general description of the voyage made by these brigades has been already given in Chapter XII, anything I could here say about them would involve repetition. As the two men, however, Baptiste Bruce and Alexis L'Espérance, acting as guides to the respective brigades, are men of mark in their own sphere, and good specimens of the important and useful class of Northern guides, a few words may be not unwelcome, describing the more noticeable events in their lives.

Of the two men, Baptiste Bruce is junior in point of years. Born in English River district, he commenced his career as a midman in the boats of that district in 1826. After two seasons passed in that capacity, he was promoted to be steersman, and on the expiry of a third year, his abilities and knowledge of the route traversed by his boats, were considered sufficient to warrant his promotion to the position of guide to his brigade. After about seven years' occupancy of this situation he left the service for a time and settled at Red River. Subsequently he passed some years in the Lac La Pluie brigade, as also in the extreme north in Mackenzie River district, where, on the western branch of the Liard River, the navigation of which is difficult and broken, he was considered a skilful pilot. On the partition of the Portage La Loche brigade into the divisions about the year 1848, he was appointed to the charge of one of these, which he has held ever since, his duties obliging him to travel during the summer months

and permitting his residence at home during the remainder of the year, between September and May.

Alexis L'Espérance is a Canadian who entered the service about 1815. On the first visit of Sir George Simpson to Vancouver's Island in 1824, he accompanied the Governor as a midman in his canoes. On his return he was raised to the position of guide to the Red River district brigade, running each summer to York Factory. A vacancy having occurred in the guideship to the Portage La Loche brigade, through the retirement of Lawrence Cadotte, who had held the office since its formation in 1826, L'Espérance was appointed thereto in 1833. After he had served for fifteen years as sole guide, on the division of the brigade, in 1848, as above stated, Bruce was appointed his colleague. After filling the situation for eighteen years more, L'Espérance retired in 1866, and has since that date remained in retreat except on one occasion, when he acted as guide to a few boats going to Cumberland, a journey shorter and less trying to a man of his years than the long trip to the Portage.

Governor Dallas started from the settlement on a lengthened tour of inspection through the country under his administration on the 13th of June. At Lower Fort Garry he embarked on a light boat, which had been provided to convey him to Norway House. As the Northern Council, of which in virtue of his office he was president, was to be held that year at Norway House, he was accompanied from Red River to that place by three of its senior members. Although retarded by head winds, which prevailed during the whole voyage, the party arrived at its destination on the evening of the 21st of June, thus making the journey across the greatest length of Lake Winnipeg in nine days. Norway House, situated at the extreme north-eastern extremity of this lake, is the depot for the inland districts and headquarters of that section of the country, known under the name of Norway House district.

The business of the council requiring his presence having been dispatched, the Governor, accompanied by Chief Factor William Christie, left Norway House on the 28th of June. Mr. Christie's object in accompanying Mr. Dallas was to introduce the different

officers in the country to the latter, and inform him on the various subjects connected with the business and the bearings thereon of the different people and places he might pass, of which, as a stranger, the Governor was necessarily ignorant. The light boat in which the party had travelled from the settlement was changed for a bark canoe, two of which, manned by Iroquois tripmen, had been forwarded, for the special service required of them, from Montreal by way of the Ottawa, Lake Superior, and the Winnipeg River and Lake to Norway House. The Iroquois tribe has always been famous for the expertness of its members as voyageurs. They are settled at a village named Caughnawaga, opposite Lachine, on the St. Lawrence, about nine miles above Montreal, where they live in a regular community, in much the same way as do the Saulteaux composing the Indian settlement of St. Peter on the Red River. They are Roman Catholics, and have a church and a resident priest. Sir George Simpson on his annual journeys from Montreal to Norway House, and other places in the north, invariably engaged them to man his canoes.

On 7th July the Governor's party reached Cumberland House, situated on the river Saskatchewan at the spot where it is touched by Cumberland Lake. The Fort is built on an island. It is the head-quarters of Cumberland district, and the point of junction between the routes followed by boats going westward up the Saskatchewan Valley and those going northward towards Portage-La Loche. It was over the latter route that Mr. Dallas proceeded, reaching Rapid River, a subordinate post in the English River district, on 12th July. On the 17th he reached Isle à la Crosse, the head-quarters of English River district. Here is a very flourishing Roman Catholic mission station, called that of St. Jean Baptiste, the residence of Vital Julien Grandin, Bishop of Satala, coadjutor of the Bishop of St. Boniface.

Leaving this place on the 18th, the Governor reached Portage-La Loche on the 20th July. Coincident with his arrival occurred that of the Red River brigades, under Bruce and L'Espérance, and of the Athabasca and Mackenzie River district brigades from the opposite direction. Mr. Dallas had, therefore, an opportunity of seeing for himself the working of the transport, in

opposite directions, of one year's outfit and fur returns of the two great northern districts of Rupert's Land, across the most formidable interruption to navigation in the territory. The length of the Portage is twelve miles. Horses and oxen were employed on the work at the time of which I speak, but should the supply of these animals not be sufficient to complete the work, the boatmen are always under contract to carry on their backs their respective cargoes to a point about the centre of the Portage, where the men from the south deliver over their cases and bales of manufactured goods to those from the north, receiving in exchange the furs brought to meet them by the latter. The excitement prevalent during the three weeks of each year when these operations are in progress, is very great, and is increased by a large attendance of "Freemen" with their beasts of burden, anxious to be engaged by the Company's officials to assist their crews in the transportation business. The bustle over, and the brigades departed, the postmaster in charge of the small post at the Portage is again left alone with his servants and cattle in his desert home for another year.

One of the Governor's canoes was transported across the Portage and launched at its northern extremity on the headwaters of the Clearwater River, a tributary of the Athabasca. The spare canoe, containing all except two of the Iroquois, was dismissed on its way back to Canada. Three days journey down the river Athabasca, then in high flood, brought the party to Fort Chipewyan, the head-quarters of Athabasca district. The Fort is situated on the Athabasca Lake, and the neighbouring country is very rocky, and so unfavourable to cultivation that the few potatoes and the little barley usually attempted to be raised seldom come to maturity. On the 29th July Governor Dallas proceeded on his journey up the Peace River, which empties itself into Lake Athabasca close to Fort Chipewyan, and arrived at Fort Vermillion on the 5th of August. This is a subordinate post in Athabasca district, and is one of the most favourably situated for agricultural purposes in that portion of the country. Wheat, barley, potatoes and culinary vegetables were cultivated at the time of Mr. Dallas' visit. Leaving Vermillion on the 6th of August he reached the

mouth of Rivière au Cœur, a tributary of Peace River, on the 13th of August, the upward voyage having been protracted by the high water then prevailing.

At the mouth of the Rivière au Cœur men and horses were waiting to convey the Governor to Dunvegan, a distance of sixty miles, which was traversed in one day, through a "rich, grassy prairie country, interspersed with wood." Dunvegan is built at the confluence of the Smoky and Peace rivers. It is about two hundred miles from the Rocky Mountains, and is now the only point of direct regular communication between the Northern Department and New Caledonia, from which district a boat arrives each year, in September, for the purpose of receiving certain supplies, chiefly of leather, provided at that spot to be carried across the mountains and down the Fraser River, for the use of the Western Department, known to the world as New Caledonia or British Columbia.

Leaving Dunvegan on the 16th, five days riding brought the Governor to Slave Lake station, on the 20th of August. From this subordinate post of the Saskatchewan district, beautifully situated on the borders of Lesser Slave Lake, he proceeded in a light boat across the lake and up Slave and Athabasca rivers to Fort Assiniboine, on the latter stream, which he reached on the 25th of August. Thence he proceeded on horseback to Edmonton, head-quarters of the Saskatchewan district, where he arrived on the 28th. Here Mr. Christie found himself at home, he being the officer in charge of the Saskatchewan. He, however, resolved to accompany the Governor further as far as Carlton on his return journey to Red River. On the 1st of September they left Edmonton in a boat and dropped down the Saskatchewan to Fort Pitt, which they reached on the 3rd, and Carlton on the 7th of September. At this place they parted, Mr. Christie to return by water to his head-quarters, and Mr. Dallas to travel overland to Red River Settlement.

Once more getting into the saddle, the latter gentleman left Carlton alone on the 9th, and reached Touchwood Hills, a small post attached to the Swan River district, on the 13th September. Detained there a few days through sickness, he resumed his jour-



ney on the 19th, and reached Fort Pelly, the head-quarters of the Swan River district, on the 21st of September. Fort Pelly is situated near the head-waters of the River Assiniboine, skirting the course of which, from point to point, the Governor's further course led to Fort Garry, which lies at its mouth. Passing Fort Ellice on the 24th, he reached the Prairie Portage on the 28th, and White Horse Plain on the 29th, arriving at Fort Garry, after an absence of three and a half months passed in constant locomotion, on the 30th September.

On the 7th of August, 1862, there arrived in Red River Settlement a party of travellers whose journey across the continent has attracted considerable public attention. Lord Milton and Doctor Cheadle had come by the ordinary route from England and on their arrival devoted their attention to making preparations for their further journey. Having spent about a fortnight engaging servants and purchasing provisions, the party set out on the 23rd of August. The transaction of the preparatory business was doubtless much facilitated by the experience gained by Lord Milton during the preceding year, when his Lordship had visited the settlement and accompanied the Autumn Buffalo hunters to the Plains.

The party started unencumbered with any useless baggage, and accompanied by four servants, only two of whom were engaged to remain with them during the winter. After proceeding leisurely westward they crossed the River Saskatchewan, and on the 15th of October selected a spot about eighty miles north from Carlton, as a suitable site for the erection of a hut to serve as a winter residence. This place was situated on a fine part of the country called La Belle Prairie.

After having spent the winter in hunting, they quitted their hut on the 3rd of April, 1863, and proceeded on their route. At Fort Pitt they dismissed the servants who had wintered with them, and engaged in their stead, a half-breed commonly known as "The Assiniboine," who, along with his wife and a son, the latter a boy of thirteen years, accompanied them faithfully to the Pacific Coast. They reached Edmonton on the 14th of May and left it on the 3rd of June. It was during their stay at this place they

encountered that *Falstaffian* Irishman, Mr. O'B., whose adventures have been already described in the preceding chapter, and who accompanied them on the rest of their journey. The party passed Jasper's House on the 29th of June, and issued from the Rocky Mountains at Tête Jaune Cache on the 17th of July. After undergoing much hardship in the wooded country of New Caledonia, where, besides being themselves lost in the forest, they were subjected to the loss of their baggage when crossing the Fraser River, they reached Fort Kamloops on the 28th of August, and Victoria on the 19th of September.

On the 29th of September they left Victoria with the design of reaching Cariboo. Steamers conveyed them as far as Douglas on the Harrison River, and thence they proceeded to Lill et, and by stage from that place to Soda Creek, a distance of one hundred and seventy-five miles. Between the creek and the mouth of Quesnelle, a distance of sixty miles, a steamer ran, but thence to Williams Creek the party had "to foot it." They reached Williams Creek, then the first place in Cariboo, on the 20th of October, and after a residence of ten days retraced their route to Victoria, where they arrived on the 25th of November. They returned to England by Panama, and reached Liverpool on the 5th of March, 1864.

The book written by these travellers, called "The North West Passage by Land" is my authority for the facts already mentioned and those which are about to follow. It is valuable as a matter-of-fact statement of the difficulties to be encountered by parties crossing the American Continent from Red River Settlement to Cariboo and the Pacific Coast. Of late years the project, the execution of which it strongly advocates, of an overland route across the continent through British Territory, has been much canvassed. The difficulties of an engineering nature to be overcome on that portion of the way lying between Red River and the Pacific are, in the estimation of the authors, not very great. The distance from the settlement to Edmonton they estimate at the very plausible figure of nine hundred and fifty miles. This portion is already provided with a cart track, which runs through a level prairie country, the only obstacles to the passage of which are

the rivers and smaller streams. Over a long stretch of it between the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan there is a great scarcity of wood.

The distance from Edmonton to Jasper's House is about four hundred miles. This portion of the country is covered with a thick forest. The ground over which the present track runs, being very low, is swampy; but it is probable that by following the more elevated lines of the undulating country, a good road might be secured. The ground on the higher levels is more heavily timbered than that on the lower ones.

The distance from Jasper's House to Tête Jaune Cache is about one hundred miles, and forms the pass through the Rocky Mountains. It is described as a natural roadway, unobstructed except by timber, the height of land being only three thousand seven hundred and sixty feet above the level of the sea. It forms a clear break in the mountain chain. The ascent on the eastern side is very gradual, while the western declivity, though more perceptible, is neither steep nor difficult.

The distance between Tête Jaune Cache and Cariboo is ninety miles. The ground between these places is mountainous, and densely wooded, and no man has yet passed over it. Lord Milton had proposed to cut his way through, but after having made the attempt, relinquished it as hopeless. In this he simply followed the example of the Canadian emigrant miners who had preceded him the previous autumn.

From Cariboo to the Pacific, a distance of six hundred miles, a well-travelled route already exists.

The General Quarterly Court, held in August, 1862, was the first over which Judge Black presided. This gentleman was, however, no stranger to the country and its people. He first came out from England in the autumn of 1839, under an engagement with the Hudson's Bay Company as clerk in their service, the special duty being assigned him of acting as clerk to the newly constituted Recorder's Court, for which his seven years' experience in a lawyer's office had qualified him. Conjointly with his duties as clerk of court and council, Mr. Black, from his first arrival in the colony, occupied an important position as clerk in the

regular service of the Hudson's Bay Company's fur trade, and was promoted to the position of Chief Trader—the official title of a member of the second rank of officers in the service. Having resigned the offices of clerk of court and council in 1848, he was for some years the officer in charge of Red River district, but retired from the service in 1854. After his subsequent return to England, Mr. Black went to Australia, where for some years he occupied the position of Minister for Lands at Sydney in the Government of New South Wales. On his return thence to England, he received the vacant appointment of judge as aforementioned at the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, and proceeded to Red River in 1862 to enter on the duties of his office.

The long dated connection with the settlement of the new judge, his knowledge of the peculiarities of the people and their habits, and his personal acquaintance with individuals, were circumstances which combined to render his appointment a very fortunate event. His very conciliatory manner, and the untiring patience with which he listened to everything the most illiterate suitor had to advance, rendered him very popular. The Court held first after his arrival was called to deal with no question involving any public interest or prejudice, and all passed off with the utmost propriety; but within the compass of the next few pages, I shall have to unfold a tale, the shadows of which are now beginning to loom across my horizon, involving a series of events in which he and the court of which he is head were principal agents, and the consequences of which may be said to have been such that the settlement has not yet, after the lapse of six years recovered from their influence.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1862.

**Mr. Robert Kennicott of the Smithsonian Institution—Crops—Minnesota Sioux Outbreak—Mr. Commissioner Dole and his Chipeway Camp—Lord Dunmore; his Party and Hunting tour—Administrative Action of Governor Dallas—Council Petition for Troops—Mr. Sheriff Ross and the "Nor' Wester" Newspaper; His Counter Petition; His dismissal from Public offices; His method of Agitation—Policy of Governor Dallas.**

On the 23rd August parties who had left the Mackenzie River district in the spring of 1862 arrived at Fort Garry. Among them was Mr. Robert Kennicott, an American gentleman connected with the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. In the spring of 1859 Mr. Kennicott had been sent by that great national scientific institution to collect specimens for their museums from the extreme north of the continent. The Hudson's Bay Company had agreed to give him what assistance they could render without deranging their own operations, and Mr. Kennicott's term of residence in the north had extended itself to three seasons.

During that period he had penetrated to the most remote posts in the territory, among others to the Youcon, a spot situated in Russian America, now termed Alaska, on the great Youcon river; and said to be, according to the most reliable observations, within fifty miles of the Arctic Circle. Mr. Kennicott had himself been highly successful in his collecting efforts, and had each year forwarded to Washington large quantities of curious specimens interesting to the student of natural science. His great zeal in the work had also communicated itself to almost all the officers in the northern districts who, with unwearied diligence, assisted him in his huntings, and have, since his departure, maintained a close connection with the institution which employed him.

Mr. Kennicott's personal popularity stood very high in the country. In consequence of the unsettled state of the Indian tribes on the route between the settlement and St. Paul, he was detained for some considerable time at Fort Garry, and we saw much of him. He was a staunch patriot, and any expression of a slighting nature levelled at these "United States," as Pauck called them about that time, called forth his indignant remonstrances. He gladly availed himself of any opportunity to show civility to his compatriots resident in the colony, some of whom, in allusion to his scientific proclivities, so incomprehensible to them, bestowed on him the elegant professional *alias* of "Bugs."

He passed over the Plains in the course of the autumn, and we heard no further news of him until 1866 when, to our great regret, we read in the newspapers the announcement of his death from a malady caused by over mental excitement in Russian America, whither he had been sent in 1865 on the staff of the Russian American Telegraph Company, his previous experience of that distant part of the globe having doubtless recommended him for the appointment.

In a book lately published, entitled "A Schoolmaster's Chips and Shavings," by Professor D. H. Wheeler of the North Western University in the United States, occurs a very flattering notice of Mr. Kennicott by the author, who appears to have been at one time his tutor. The professor says the North Western University Museum contains the memorials of his industry and scientific enthusiasm, and recommends that some one who knew him well should write the story of his adventurous life and labours. I fear, however, the nature of Mr. Kennicott's work must necessitate obscurity as the fate of his life. It was, so far as its details have come to my knowledge, passed in obscure parts of the world among savages, and its avocations seldom admitted of his remaining any long space of time with intimate friends. It was, moreover, humbly speaking, an unfinished life, for he died aged only about twenty-seven years.

The Red River harvest of 1862 was below the ordinary average to which it had attained during some preceding years, excepting of course that of 1861. The grain which actually

came to maturity was excellent. Serious damage had been caused by a hail storm, which fell with extraordinary violence in the month of August. The area over which it raged was very narrow, and confined to one spot near the centre of the colony, the crops belonging to about a dozen families resident near which were completely destroyed. The success of the Plain hunters, though fair, was unequal to that achieved the previous year.

It was during the month of September that a series of symptoms became apparent, leading to the belief that some event of importance had occurred on the St. Paul route. For some weeks nothing more definite than confused rumours reached the settlement, which gradually, however, resolved themselves into shape. The Sioux Indians resident in Minnesota lived under treaties made with the Government of the United States, in terms of which, in consideration of certain lands ceded by them, they were entitled to stated annual payments made to them by the Americans. The business was transacted for the Government by contractors called "Indian agents," who at appointed times met the Indian tribes and distributed among them the goods they brought for the purpose.

It was alleged by the Sioux, as matters of complaint against the United States Government, that they had not for a series of years received the full stipulated amount of their annual payments and allowances; that good faith had not been kept with them, and that the agents were dilatory in point of time, detaining them for weeks after the period fixed by Government as that at which they were to be on the spot. The latter evil was itself a very serious one. Several thousand Indians of both sexes, and of every age, were collected and left for weeks, during which the few provisions they had been able to bring along with them were quickly consumed, and the whole camp, without the possibility of obtaining food from their distant hunting grounds, compelled to undergo the pains of starvation.

The utmost penalties exacted from the delinquents and the strongest preventive measures used by American troops proved also ineffectual in hindering the sale of liquor to the Indians on such occasions by dealers who found themselves well paid for the

risks run by the high prices the savages would give them for the much desired "fire water." Whether alcohol was the immediate cause or not I am unaware, but, after a detention of nearly six weeks resulting in the accustomed state of starvation, a band of Sioux waiting the tardy arrival of the agent at Fort Ridgely, acting under the leadership of a very popular and able chief named "Little Crow," made a sudden attack on the fort and the neighbouring town of New Ulm, the latter of which they destroyed. This outbreak was followed by a general rising of their whole tribe, and the massacre of all the white settlers on the Minnesota and Sank Rivers. The atrocities committed after the savage nature had broken loose are frightful to contemplate. It is estimated that 1,500 settlers were murdered amid circumstances of appalling barbarity. Men were shot down, women violated and murdered, and children tortured, thrust living into stoves or cut down with the tomahawk. Houses were burned down, and fields and gardens, representing the result of long and hard labour, restored to their pristine state of devastation. So strong was the feeling of abhorrence entertained against the Sioux by the settlers who escaped, that on quitting their houses with the object of seeking more secure places of abode, they left poisoned cakes lying in prominent positions in order that, when the starving savages should arrive in search of plunder, they might devour them and die. It was also credibly reported that, towards the close of the outbreak, ornaments cut out of the bones of the Indians taken, and executed during its course, were exposed for sale at high prices in St. Paul.

The route to Red River through the States was immediately closed. One of the stage coaches was attacked by the Sioux, and the passengers killed and scalped. Only those parties travelling with a military escort could pass over the Plains between Georgetown and St. Paul. Fort Abercrombie was besieged by a very large body of Indians, and it was long thought they would carry it, though ultimately they failed to do so. The Hudson's Bay Company's post at Georgetown was in the heart of the Sioux country, and the water in the river had subsided to such an extent that the steamboat could not run, and it became necessary to lay



her up and abandon her for the winter at Georgetown. As it was expected the Indians would take and pillage Georgetown, it was resolved by Messrs. Murray and Kittson, the gentlemen in charge of that post and the steamboat, to carry off all the portable goods and leave the buildings to their fate. An attempt to use the steamer for this purpose having resulted in hopelessly grounding her within a few miles of the station, she was abandoned and her cargo divided into two portions, one of which was to be floated down the river to the settlement, in a barge, while the other was to be transported overland to the same destination in a train of carts. The barge arrived and delivered her cargo safely after an uneventful journey.

At the junction of the Red Lake River and the Red River, a spot called "the Grand Forks" of the Red River, were assembled about 750 Chippeway Indians waiting the arrival of a United States Commissioner, who had arranged to meet them in order to enter into a treaty with them for the purchase of their lands lying on the Red River as far north as the frontier at Pembina. Mr. Commissioner Dole had, however, proceeded only as far as St. Cloud, when his further progress was barred by the Sioux revolt, and, as the goods he had in charge to distribute among the Chippeways, were already at Abercrombie, then besieged by the Sioux, it seemed probable they would fall into the possession of the wrong tribe. Matters were in this position when Messrs. Murray and Kittson, journeying overland along with the ox-trains carrying the goods which had been stored at Georgetown, passed the Grand Forks. They were immediately surrounded by the Chippeways. The latter had been waiting a long time the arrival of Mr. Dole, and were, as usual, starving. They demanded supplies from Mr. Kittson, and were refused on the ground that that gentleman had no authority to comply with their request. On being refused they commenced to help themselves, and, surrounding the train, pillaged it, making away with property estimated at the value of about £2,000 sterling. No lives were lost, and the American Government afterwards recompensed the owners of the stolen goods.

The barrier thus raised against the passage of traffic on the United States route was a matter of the most serious import to the

settlement. Fortunately the outbreak did not occur till August, and, consequently, the major part of the year's freighting had been finished, but the probability existed that the same disturbing causes would come into operation the ensuing spring, and meanwhile the mails ceased running. For some months the few opportunities we possessed of communicating with the outside world were offered by the journeys of adventurous gentlemen, whose business or pleasure necessitated their running the gauntlet of the enemy. A party of officers in the Guards, then stationed at Montreal, had visited the country with the object of buffalo and bear hunting. The gentlemen composing the party were the Earl of Dunmore, Colonel and Captain Cooper, and Captain Thynne. They had crossed the Plains on their way to the settlement a very few days before the occurrence of the outbreak, and they quitted it on their way west to the hunting ground near the Cypress Hills, before any suspicion had got abroad in the colony that unusual events were in progress. After a trip of average success they returned to Red River early in October, and great was their surprise to learn the events which had transpired. All had seemed so peaceful and quiet along the road, when they passed it in autumn, that it had not entered their calculations there was more danger existing round it than on any highway through a rural district in England. Their term of absence was, however, drawing to a close, and it was necessary to make an effort. On the 16th October they started, and, pursuing a route called "the Wood Road," passing through the grounds of the Chippeway Tribe towards the centre of the State of Minnesota, as distinguished from "the Plain Road" running through those of the Sioux on the west and south confines of the state, they reached their journey's end in safety.

About the end of October the mail service was partially re-established by the Wood Road, which, because of its distance from the parts infested by the Sioux, was used as the route between the settlement and the States during the continuance of disturbances. Besides the above-named party of pleasure seekers, another gentleman, Mr. Samuel Bruce, visited the settlement in the autumn of 1862 for the same purpose. Mr. Bruce made even a more narrow

escape than did Lord Dunmore's party. He was at Georgetown when the war broke out, and took his turn in keeping the night watches at that place. When Messrs. Murray and Kittson left it he accompanied them, and, having ridden ahead, was the first to bring to Fort Garry intelligence of the outrage at the Grand Forks. After a trip of some weeks duration on the Plains, and a residence in the settlement of some weeks more, Mr. Bruce left on his return to England towards the close of November.

One of the first administrative acts of Governor Dallas was to issue orders to his subordinates in the service, directing them to discontinue the system of paying cash for "country produce." The latter is the general term used for all meat, agricultural produce, and other articles produced in the colony, with the exception of furs. Instead of cash, articles of English or American manufacture, imported by the Company and exposed for sale in their shops, were to be bartered. As the Company's notes composed the grand medium of local circulation, and had, till then, always been paid in exchange for the produce indicated, a vast quantity of which was annually bought, an immediate outcry from the settlers followed the promulgation of the new edict. The "Nor' Wester" gave utterance to the public sentiment, and pretty plainly intimated that, had it foreseen the sort of policy about to be inaugurated by the new Governor, who, being the most prominent agent of the Company, was singled out as the main object of attack, it would have materially modified the almost fulsome eulogy contained in a leading article published a few months previously, announcing his arrival in the settlement.

The action complained of it must, however, be remembered was taken by the Governor, acting purely in his capacity as head of the trading operations of the Company, and was in no way affected by his possession of magisterial authority; and, although it was highly distasteful to the community at large to be partially deprived of their medium of currency, the Company refused any longer to supply their opponents in trade to a greater extent than suited their own convenience, with an engine which might be so powerfully worked to damage their interests as an extensive issue of paper currency which, in terms of the notes, they were compelled

to redeem by granting bills of exchange on London at par for any amount of it which might be presented at their office. While the press therefore reviled the Company for systematically locking up their money in the Fort Garry strong box, the Governor contented himself with the reflection that he had acted for the benefit of his employers, and his subordinates declined to receive country produce from customers in whose eyes hard cash was the only eligible equivalent for their wares.

The feeling of uneasiness roused in the colony by the events transpiring in Minnesota was aggravated by the intelligence that the Sioux proposed paying a visit to Fort Garry. It was true that the visit was alleged to be of a friendly character, and it was highly improbable that the Indians, already at deadly war with the United States, would increase their difficulties by any action which would procure them the hostility of the Red River hunters, whose admirable organizations for purposes connected with the chase might on emergency be brought to bear on those of an Indian war. On the other hand, should the Indian visit be paid during the ensuing summer the great bulk of the adult male population would be from home in pursuit of their avocations on the Plains after buffalo, or in freighting towards St. Paul, the Saskatchewan, York Factory, or Portage La Loche. A Sioux visit, even of a pacific character, under these circumstances, would be dangerous as offering an opportunity to the observant savages to spy the weakness of the land. Moreover, it might be impossible to secure settlers in isolated spots of the colony from visits paid to their domiciles, and possibly robbery at the hands of starving Sioux or young "braves" of their tribe, who, having nothing to lose and a sanguinary reputation to gain among their people, are generally the first to lead the way in those massacres and wars which bring ruin, discredit and extermination alike on the good and the bad connected with their bands.

Even in the light of past events, the local government had no wish to see the Red River Indians fraternising with the murderers of the whites in Minnesota, or to give the Sioux the opportunity of providing themselves with gunpowder and war materials on British ground to be used against American troops. Considera-

tions of humanity apart, it was highly inexpedient that the Americans should regard the settlement as a basis of supply for their enemies, or that the Sioux should consider British settlers as their allies against the forces of the Union.

On previous occasions the Hudson's Bay Company had warned the British Government of the various and manifold risks to which the isolated colony of Red River was exposed, and had besought them to continue the assistance afforded by the presence of a body of troops on the spot, offering to share the expense of the measure they recommended to a reasonable extent. In spite of their representations and remonstrances, nevertheless, the military had been withdrawn and no reasonable hope remained that renewed applications would be productive of any better effect than that of shifting the responsibility of any massacre or disaster which might ensue from the shoulders of the members of the Company's board to those of the regulators of the distribution of the military forces of the empire.

Combined in their system of defence, and sheltered in their forts, the servants of the Company would always be able to defend themselves and the property entrusted to their care against any body of savages crazy enough to try conclusions with them. Matters were, however, very different with the outlying settlers, whose isolated homes lay on spots newly reclaimed from the wilderness, and whose days might be embittered by the continual dread of hearing the deadly howl of paint-covered, feather-decorated murderers emerging from the copses round their dwellings. Hoping that the appeals of people living under such circumstances as these might have more weight with the Colonial Office than those of the Company, the Governor and Council of Assiniboia, at a meeting held on the 30th October, presided over by Governor Dallas, invited the settlers to sign a petition to the Colonial Secretary asking for troops.

The petition was drawn up and public meetings were held in different parts of the settlement with the object of recommending the document to the favourable consideration of the community, and obtaining signatures. At this stage of the proceedings it became apparent that a disturbing cause was in existence which

threatened to affect seriously for evil the success of what had early become known as "The Council Petition."

Mr. James Ross, already mentioned in this narrative as one of the earliest editors and proprietors of the "Nor' Wester," possessed, in addition to these titles to public notice, at the time to which I refer, the offices of postmaster, sheriff and governor of the gaol. This gentleman, instigated as he declared by a desire to call forth the true sentiments of the people, issued a counter petition, which, while it asked for troops, commented somewhat disparagingly on the manner in which the Company's jurisdiction in the country was exercised. Some considerable time previously, an application had been made by the proprietors of the "Nor' Wester" to the Council of Assiniboia, asking for permission to send a reporter for the newspaper to attend the deliberations of that body. It was then decided that, as the proposed innovation was without precedent, the council having always been accustomed to sit with closed doors, it was improper to admit a reporter for any newspaper and exclude the general public. While the council, however, by this resolution excluded an outsider from intruding on its debates, it always supplied the "Nor' Wester," through its secretary, Mr. Smith, with such extracts from its minutes and other information as was supposed necessary to keep the public well informed with regard to its various proceedings. In accordance with this practice a copy of the Council Petition, with the different resolutions bearing thereon, was sent to Mr. Ross for publication. It was, however, never published, but there appeared instead the counter-petition, embodying as much of the matter contained in the other as suited the purposes of the promoters, and containing a good deal to which the council would certainly decline to lend what weight its authority might possess.

Such were the zeal and activity shown by the promoters of the "Nor' Wester" Petition, that the persons appointed to advocate the other were, on their arrival in most of the districts of the colony, in which they proposed to hold public meetings, met by the intelligence that the active agents on the other side had already preceded them, and procured the signatures of the unsuspecting rustics, who imagined they were merely putting their names to

the document sanctioned by council. The number of signatures ultimately obtained by the "Nor' Wester" people I do not know. To the council petition 1183 signatures were attached. Of the latter the great majority were those of the French Canadian population, whose priests had exerted themselves with united zeal and complete effect in favour of the council. The English names, however, included the signatures of all the leading residents, though a large bulk of the humbler population had been misled by the artifice already indicated. Some individuals, on learning the true position of matters, called on Mr. Ross, who, I believe, in all such cases offered no opposition to the withdrawal of their names from the document they professed to have signed through misconception.

The "Nor' Wester" also broke out in a very unmistakable manner against the Government, professing at the same time to be merely giving voice to the sentiments of the people. It stated that the head official in the Company's sale shop at Fort Garry, had, for some time previously, spent his efforts more in a fruitless attempt to induce customers to sign his petition, than in performing his more regular functions of salesman. It also stated that a number of signatures representing no living men, had been placed on the council petition, and among others it alleged that the name of an old ox, used in drawing water for the use of Fort Garry, had been so inscribed.

On the other hand it was asserted that Mr. Ross had obtained his signatures by abusing the credulity of the ignorant and by having recourse to imposture, by acting as he represented his opponents to have acted in the matter of signatures, belonging to no living persons, and by attaching to his petition the names of minors, Indians, and others, unable to judge of the propriety of the step into which he led them.

The whole of the clergymen of the settlement, with exception of three, supported the council petition. The Rev. Mr. Black, in strict conformity with the principles on which he had acted with reference to political movements during his decade of residence in the settlement, while attaching his own name to the council petition, remained neutral so far as any attempt to influence his parishioners was concerned. The Rev. Griffith Owen

Corbett, and the Rev. John Chapman strenuously and effectively supported Mr. Ross. The former gentleman, it will be remembered, was Presbyterian minister, while the two latter belonged to the Church of England, and had been throughout the whole of their period of residence in the country, close friends, and, when the opportunity presented itself, fellow-agitators against the Company's government. To their influence brought to bear on their parishioners Mr. Ross was, I believe, largely indebted for what measure of success attended his enterprise.

Meanwhile the council was not idle with regard to Mr. Ross, who, it will be remembered, held the public offices of sheriff, governor of the gaol and postmaster. At a full meeting it was resolved that he should be deprived of all these posts under a government he was doing all in his power, as editor of a newspaper and public agitator, to bring into contempt. The joint offices of sheriff and governor of the gaol, yielding a clear permanent revenue to the holder of £30 per annum, afterwards raised to £60, were conferred on Mr. Henry McKenney, senior partner in the firm of McKenney & Co., while that of postmaster, yielding a fixed remuneration of £10 per annum, afterwards increased to £20, was bestowed on Mr. Andrew Graham Ballenden Bannatyne, one of the principal private merchants in the colony. Both of these gentlemen have retained their respective offices, from the time to which I allude till that at which I write, and have labouriously fulfilled the duties pertaining to them, to the well-merited satisfaction of the public and the government.

Freed from the incubus of official trammels, Mr. Ross persevered in the course on which he had entered with renewed zeal. He called public meetings, the resolutions passed at which, along with the speeches made, appeared in full in his newspaper, which speedily altered the tame, uninteresting style in which his articles had for a long time been couched to one, the pungent personalities and one-sided plausibilities of which, rendered it, to an unconcerned by-stander, highly interesting and exhilarating reading. It was possibly with a retrospective glance at the editorials produced about this period that the conductors of the paper, on the retirement of Mr. Ross from its management about eighteen months



afterwards, in paying a parting tribute of praise to their outgoing coadjutor, stated that "as a vigorous writer and logical thinker, he was second to none in the country."

Among other proposals made at the public meetings called by Mr. Ross, was one which met with peculiar favour. It was to the effect that he himself should visit England and lay the grievances of the settlement before the authorities there. Less enthusiastic, however, were the demonstrations of a practical nature towards supplying the funds necessary for the successful working out of the scheme. So poor in fact was the pecuniary encouragement given him that Mr. Ross, after remaining undecided for some time, finally abandoned the idea of going to England, and Mr. Sandford Fleming, a Canadian land surveyor, was appointed, by a formal meeting held in the settlement, delegate to represent the wrongs of the people of Red River to the imperial authorities.

The resolutions adopted at this meeting were detailed as usual in the columns of the "Nor' Wester," which omitted, however, to state that the total number of individuals attending it, including Mr. Ross himself, and Mr. Coldwell, his partner, "unanimously chosen secretary of the meeting," did not exceed twenty.

The rival petitions were forwarded to England by mail, and were both received at the Colonial Office, but the prayer of both was disregarded, and the settlement was abandoned by official men to whatever fate might turn up for it in the chapter of accidents.

Meanwhile Governor Dallas, left to his own resources, employed himself in devising some method whereby the various evils which threatened the commonwealth might be averted or neutralised. Before his assumption of office the Governor of Rupert's Land had carefully avoided mixing himself up with the administration of affairs in the municipal district of Assiniboia, which had been always left to the charge of its own governor and council. For many years Sir George Simpson, whose chief residence had latterly been at Lachine, near Montreal, on his way home from Norway House had paid an annual visit of a very few days duration to the settlement, where he always avoided, as much as he could, interfering with anything beyond the commercial business of the company, or of private individuals with whose affairs he might be con-

nected. Mr. Dallas, however, on coming to reside in the colony as his head quarters, took a very decided part in the colonial administration. He attended the meetings of council, where, in virtue of his commission, he superseded the local Governor, who happened, during the term of his tenure of office, to be also the chief factor in charge of the Company's district of Red River.

Formerly, it had been usually the aim of the authorities to discourage, as much as possible, party feeling, endeavouring rather to induce members of all races, creeds, and parties to forget, in their common intercourse, those matters wherein they differed, and exert themselves with united zeal for the general good. When the disturbance, raised by the editor of the "Nor' Wester," broke out, Mr. Dallas attempted to inaugurate another policy. Refusing to treat his opponents and friends with equal cordiality, he took all legitimate opportunities which presented themselves to mark his sense of the distinction between them. Possibly the most decided movement made in this direction was to give a ball, from the list of invitations to which the names of all who had opposed themselves to the government on the petition question were excluded, while a large number of the well disposed were invited. So far as the measures taken to enable guests to enjoy themselves were concerned, the government ball was, as might be expected, a signal success, and the affair itself possibly one of the most brilliant ever known in the settlement. Politically, however, it elicited a "special extra," printed at the "Nor' Wester" office, for private circulation, and occasioned some bad feeling on the part of influential people excluded.

It will doubtless appear perfectly comprehensible that a gentleman who had passed his life in countries provided with the cumbersome mechanism of government in the civilized world, would have but little sympathy with what might be considered the Utopian scheme of preventing political discord, or faith in the efficacy of any human means to accomplish such an end. In the earlier years of the settlement, however, the policy had been productive of good. When Mr. Dallas arrived the bulk of the populace might be considered as composed of the two classes of new arrivals from Canada and the United States, and of the residents of old date and their

families, whose practical knowledge of public institutions was confined to those existing under the Company's rule. Individuals of the former class willingly supported Mr. Dallas, or any one else, who could make it tend to their private interest to become subservient to his public policy; but the old Hudson's Bay men, whose idea of a governor was that of a man who had spent a long life in the territory, and had grown old along with themselves, regarded this new gentleman as being, with all his ability, not much better than a "greenhorn."

## CHAPTER XIX.

1862-63.

Apprehension of the Rev. Griffith Owen Corbett; Charge against him; Preliminary examination; Popular demonstration at the Prison—Letter to the "Nor' Wester"—Defence—Correspondence with Governor Dallas—Bail—Mr. Frank Larned Hunt, agent for the Defence—Petition for Special Court—Visit of Sioux—Archdeacon Hunter vs. John Tate—Rumoured visits from Indians—February Quarterly Court—Trial and condemnation of Mr. Corbett.

EARLY in December considerable astonishment was created in the settlement by the apprehension of the Rev. Griffith Owen Corbett, of Headingley, by authority of a warrant granted by Mr. Thomas Sinclair, J.P., on a charge of having made repeated attempts to procure abortion, by instruments and otherwise, on the person of Maria Thomas, a girl in his service, whom he had seduced. The preliminary examination took place at the house of the girl's father, a settler, named Simon Thomas, where the victim was confined to bed in consequence of the state of health in which she was, and to which it was alleged Mr. Corbett's malpractices had reduced her.

Face to face with death a sworn deposition was taken from the girl by properly qualified parties, and that, along with corroborative testimony, of a character very damaging to the accused, given by her father and sister, carried such conviction to the mind of the magistrate that he committed Mr. Corbett to prison, with the prospect of standing his trial before the general quarterly court, whose next session would commence during the ensuing February.

For some years previously Mr. Corbett had professedly acted much as an amateur medical practitioner in his parish, to the inhabitants of which he gave physic and medical advice gratis. In a country where difficulty exists in procuring the assistance of regular practitioners, this system is dictated by charity and humanity, and has been, I believe, universally practised by clergymen in Rupert's Land. To enable him to pursue this path of duty

with as much intelligence and effect as possible, Mr. Corbett had, during the winter of 1856-57, which he spent in England, attended regularly at King's Hospital, for the purpose of gaining some insight into the practice of physic and surgery.

Committed to the common gaol, Mr. Corbett commenced a series of attempts to create a public feeling in his favour, by asserting that the committing magistrate had with ridicule refused to admit him to bail. When interrogated on this point the magistrate denied that bail had been offered, and said the only time on which it had been mentioned in his hearing, during the progress of the preliminary examination, was when Mr. Oliver Gowler, a parishioner and attached friend of Mr. Corbett, had asked whether it would be accepted, and was informed by Mr. Sinclair that he did not know whether the case, being one of felony, would admit of bail. He added, moreover, that, after he had informed Mr. Corbett his committal was inevitable, neither the latter nor any of his friends had mentioned bail.

On the forenoon of Saturday, the 6th December, a party of men arrived at the prison, which is situated close to the Fort, and effected a forcible entrance with the avowed intention of liberating Mr. Corbett. On learning the intention of the assemblage, Governor Dallas, accompanied by the Governor of Assiniboia and several other gentlemen, went to the scene of action and held an interview with the mob. Singling out the ringleaders the former asked them what they wanted in that place. They answered they wished merely to liberate the prisoner on bail. Mr. Dallas told them they knew no one resided in the prison legally competent to grant such a request, and that their tumultuous assemblage did not accord with their words. Believing, however, that whatever riotous intentions they might have harboured would not be carried out, he retired.

A deputation from the crowd called on the Governor in the course of the afternoon, requesting the release of the prisoner on bail, but were referred to the committing magistrate, who alone, they were informed, could grant their request. For several days Mr. Corbett's friends were busy going from one functionary to another, and loud complaints were indulged in that bail had been refused,

and the accused illegally deprived of that liberty which alone could enable him to collect evidence to prove his innocence.

It was then complained that a copy of the depositions taken at the preliminary examination had been refused the prisoner and his attorney. Inquiry at the committing magistrate elicited the assertion that Mr. Smith, the Clerk of Court, had, on the evening of the day on which the examination had taken place, been directed by that functionary to prepare such a copy in view of the probability that it would be demanded, but that no application had yet been made for it to him who alone could order its delivery.

An attempt was also made to compromise the respectability of Maria Thomas and her family, more especially of her father, Simon Thomas, a poor settler, resident in St. Clement's Parish, who had been the instigator of all the steps taken against Mr. Corbett. It was asserted that Mr. Sinclair had admitted to Mr. Corbett during his examination "they were all infernal liars." To this the magistrate replied that, on the occasion referred to, Mr. Corbett had indeed asked him if he was not aware of the reputation in which these people were held, and had applied the above quoted expression to them; but that he, believing the question to have been asked with the object of entrapping him, had carefully refrained from making any such admission.

A long and bitter letter then appeared in the "Nor' Wester" from the pen of Mr. Corbett, in which he attributed the proceedings taken against him to the hostility of the Company excited by the prominent part he had taken in forwarding the success of the "Nor' Wester" petition, and his unceasing hostility to them during the whole term of his residence in their territories. He represented himself in the light of a political martyr, and contemptuously denied that the charges brought against him had any foundation in fact. Though not directly naming the bishop, there were several expressions in the letter implying that the coolness and disapprobation evinced towards him by that gentleman since he had got into difficulty, rose from an unworthy fear to support him against his persecutors.

The truth of his statement that he had ever politically opposed the Company in the country and in England, where during the

Inquiry before the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1857, he had given evidence of a nature one-sided, and well calculated to produce a false impression on the minds of his hearers, being well known, much credit was attached by respectable people in the country to Mr. Corbett's assertions, and the Rev. John Chapman more especially befriended him and made no secret of his conviction that the depositions of Maria Thomas and others were impudently false.

In a series of letters written from the prison to Governor Dallas, which were afterwards published in the "Nor' Wester," Mr. Corbett held much the same language, complaining that because he was a missionary abroad he had been needlessly torn from his family and friends, and that he was persecuted for the conscientious expression of his sentiments on the broad question of the Hudson's Bay territory. He also asserted that he had been studying law, as expounded by Blackstone, and found it very different from that administered under Judge Black. He quoted the words "that an individual of good fame who is accused of any felony not before specified *must* be bailed upon offering sufficient security, Vol. iv., p. 298." What the felonies "before specified" were, or whether he regarded the words as referring to a matter of time, and previous accusations or convictions against a given individual, as his fragmentary quotation might induce one to suspect, Mr. Corbett did not say. He, however, alleged that bail, amounting to £4,000 sterling, had been "ready to be offered" on his behalf when refused on the day of the visit paid to the prison by his friends, whose zeal to liberate him by force he claimed credit for having discouraged.

It was for some time a question with the authorities whether they would accept bail or accede to another proposal, made on behalf of Mr. Corbett, that a special court should be commissioned to try his case. The low state of health of the principal witness for the prosecution rendered her presence in court impossible at the time of these deliberations, but her medical adviser was of opinion, that within a few weeks she would probably be able to appear. It was ultimately decided that bail should be received, and by a Court of Justices of the Peace, held on the 16th Decem-

ber, Mr. Corbett was set at liberty, on finding two securities for one hundred pounds each, and entering into his own recognizances for two hundred pounds more.

On his liberation it became publicly known that Mr. Corbett had selected as his principal adviser a parishioner of his own, named Frank Larned Hunt, who was understood to have studied law in Canada, where he had also for some years practised it, and attained to a certain degree of eminence in his profession. Owing to misfortunes of a personal and domestic nature, Mr. Hunt had quitted his former home and come to settle at Red River. Here he commenced labouring, I believe, as a farmer, and never to my knowledge was connected with any court cases until Mr. Corbett, who knew his antecedents, prevailed on him to undertake the chief conduct of his defence. Subordinate to Mr. Hunt acted Mr. James Ross, who also, through the "Nor' Wester," endeavoured to support the cause of his client.

Mr. Hunt, in talking with people in the colony about the affair, freely stated his opinion that the charges he had to rebut were merely moonshine and that as soon as the principal witness could be got into the box, every suspicion would vanish. He deprecated the idea of encouraging any popular disturbance, which he said could only damage his case, and he added that should any such commotion arise on the day of the trial, he "would throw up his brief," and decline to move in the affair. As it was, however, and should the trial be permitted to proceed in regular form, he had little doubt that public good would spring from the evil which had temporarily befallen Mr. Corbett, and the over-credulous people would have their eyes opened and see that orderly support of law was the best means they could use to get an unfortunate friend out of a difficulty.

During the latter part of December vigorous exertions were made to obtain a reconsideration of the decision of the magistrates' refusing a special court to try the case. The resolution had been arrived at principally on the ground of the impossibility of obtaining the attendance of Maria Thomas, at the court room, situated more than twenty miles from her home in consequence of her state of health. A petition was forwarded by a deputation



from Mr. Corbett's parishioners to the Bishop of Rupert's Land, requesting his Lordship to use his influence to obtain the special court. It was stated by the petitioners that the attendance of the principal witness for the prosecution was quite unnecessary, seeing she had already made a deposition, which might be read over to the jury in her absence, and moreover she might be brought comfortably up to some house in the neighbourhood of the court room, and should the jury desire further information than was afforded in her sworn deposition, properly accredited parties might be dispatched by the Court to swear and interrogate the woman in her own bedroom. It was also advanced by the petitioners that Mr. James Ross, the junior counsel and working man on the side of the defence, was anxious to leave the settlement on his projected return to Canada and England, undertaken for the express purpose of exposing the misgovernment of the territory groaning under Hudson's Bay despotism. Nor was Mr. Ross the only man connected with the business apparently likely to desert the locality at the time his presence was wanted, for some important witnesses for the defence it was apprehended were about to start for the Plains.

Bishop Anderson received the petition and forwarded it to the judge, requesting his consideration of the reasons advanced in it, and his good offices should these reasons appear to him to possess the weight seemingly attached to them by the petitioners.

In reply Mr. Black refused to entertain the proposal on the alleged grounds and appeared to think his refusal tended to save Mr. Corbett from his friends. He stated in answering the bishop, under date 5th January, 1863, that, on consulting the girl's medical attendant, he had been informed of her confinement on the 3rd instant and of the impossibility of conveying her to the spot required, within a month, at the expiry of which term the regular quarter sessions of the general court would be close at hand. The proposal to drag a witness, on whose evidence in a criminal case the whole event might be said to hinge, to the threshold of a court of justice, without subjecting her to a regular examination before the jury, was rejected as absurd; while the reading of the deposition already taken, without submitting

deponent to further examination, however proper it might be, if from death or hopeless illness her future appearance were a thing impossible, was, under existing circumstances, illegal. It was of course a matter to be regretted that Mr. Ross should leave his client without the benefit of his services, but over that arrangement the public authorities had no jurisdiction, while they would at once subpoena any witnesses whose departure Mr. Corbett might desire to prevent before the February sessions. The result was that a special court was definitely refused.

During the latter days of December, the settlement had been alarmed by reports, daily gathering in consistency, of the projected visit of a party of Sioux to Fort Garry. At last, on Sunday, 28th December, the anxiously expected arrival occurred, and a party consisting of 80 men and 6 women made its appearance. They were lodged in the court room, as the only place available for their accommodation, and supplied with food. Fortunately none of them had been personally compromised in the late massacres on the frontier and only fifteen of them were connected with any of the bands so concerned. Usually residing near Lake Travers, they were wintering, in consequence of the disturbance between their nation and the whites, near Devil's Lake, a body of water situated about 140 miles south-west from Fort Garry. Their object they said was to ascertain the feelings entertained towards them by the Indians and Half-breeds on the English side of the border. They also expressed regret at what they regarded as the hopeless position into which their nation had brought itself. They left the Fort, on their return to Devil's Lake, on Wednesday, 31st December. During their three days' residence it was believed possible, from an apparent desire to defer their departure, that they had come for some purpose other than that which they professed. It was, therefore, deemed prudent to make a somewhat prominent display of six pounder field pieces and other Government stores fitted to excite in their minds the idea we were not unprepared for belligerent operations in case of emergency.

During their stay they visited Bishop Anderson, who received them with all proper consideration and showed them his new cathedral of St. John, which I may here mention had been opened

for public worship a few days previously, on Thursday, 25th December, being Christmas day. After receiving a present of pemmican, our unhappy guests, apparently satisfied, returned homewards, leaving the settlement perfectly quiet, and without any offence shown to Indians or Half-breeds resident on their route.

The Venerable Archdeacon Hunter had, at an early stage of the Corbett case, been deputed by the Bishop of Rupert's Land, to make certain enquiries, chiefly of the prosecutrix and members of her family, which might lead the ecclesiastical authorities to some reliable conclusion on the merits of that deplorable affair. The result of the Archdeacon's inquest was a conviction, which he did not scruple to state in public, that Mr. Corbett was guilty as libelled. Some time afterwards reports reached his ears that he himself was being virulently attacked in a variety of different quarters, and that charges were rumoured against him which threatened in his estimation to damage his character and usefulness as a clergyman. Up and down throughout his parish statements were in circulation respecting the incumbent, the wild extravagance of which might be thought by an uninterested person to exempt them from all title to notice. To the gentleman chiefly interested, however, and to certain of his friends, the matter wore a more serious aspect, and it was determined to select some responsible individual to make an example of him.

A person, named John Tait, whose eccentricities of expression, when labouring under excitement, are said to be so great as to render him momentarily unaccountable for his words, had signalized himself by repeating current talk, and as, although not a rich man by any means, he possessed, what the vast majority of the libellers did not, some money, it was resolved to enter an action against him, requiring damages amounting, I believe, to £400, on account of defamation of character. On learning the position in which he had been placed, Mr. Tait's justification of his conduct was that he had been merely repeating current talk, which he had always known to be untrue. His object in so doing, he asserted, had been to show how little reliance could be placed on the stories to the disparagement of Mr. Corbett, which he believed to be also false, by instancing, as a case in point, the reports circulated against

a man standing so high in public estimation, and in his own, as did Mr. Hunter. Mr. Tait engaged Mr. James Ross as agent to conduct his case.

What the charges were, as a whole, I do not know, having paid no attention to them at the time; but, from the specimens I have heard, as well as from everything which has come to my knowledge connected with them, they were so outrageously extravagant as to carry their own reputation on their face. The Archdeacon selected as his agent Mr. Bernard R. Ross, a chief trader in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, and a near relation of his own, then on furlough in the settlement.

Mr. Bernard R. Ross probably convinced Mr. James Ross that the position of his client was a bad one, for the case, which was to have been publicly tried at the February court, was withdrawn, and the Archdeacon declared himself satisfied when John Tait had come under an engagement to pay him a sum of one hundred pounds sterling for compounding the action, and had retracted all the obnoxious assertions. He also mentioned the matter, giving an account of the negotiations, from the pulpit of St. Andrew's, and stated it as being his intention, while exacting the money from John Tait, to hand it over as a portion in equal division between his two daughters.

The public excitement produced by all these causes was augmented by a rumour which added much to the feeling of insecurity prevalent in the settlement. It was said that certain ill-disposed parties resident in the colony had "sent tobacco" to the Indians occupying the nearer hunting grounds, requesting them to meet in the settlement during the course of the following spring, and open the question of the extinction of Indian titles to the land. The ceremony of sending tobacco is one quite well understood, and constitutes the Indian form of fraternization. The prospect of a general assemblage of Indians hunting on English territory taking place in the heart of the small, isolated, civilized community of Red River, at the same time as the proposed visit from American Sioux might be paid, was one well-calculated to excite apprehension in even careless minds. Should the hostile feelings of the savage tribes break out, in consequence of any trifling incident which

might occur to ruffle their unrestrained passions, and lead to the settlement becoming the scene of their war, nothing could prevent vast loss of life among the settlers, and the final result would be the possibly permanent cessation of the good understanding, till then prevalent, between the white and Half-breed populations and the Indians. Even should perfect harmony prevail the expenses of providing food for the Indian host would seriously impoverish the settlement public funds, on which it would necessarily fall, as, in case of need, and refusal on the part of the authorities to supply them with food, the Indians would help themselves at the expense of private settlers. Fortunately, the more serious fears entertained never were realized, and the Sioux visits, with which we had subsequently to deal, were peaceful ones; but the anxiety existing in the minds of men whose lives and substance were at stake, in view of their perfectly unprotected condition, was of itself a serious evil.

On the morning of Thursday, 19th February, 1863, the long expected session of the quarterly court commenced. In charging the grand jury, which was composed of many of the most intelligent residents in the colony, the judge commented at some length on the proceedings of a section of the public with reference to the Corbett case, and more especially the suspicious gathering which had taken place at the prison on 6th December, for the purpose of effecting his release. The grand jury found a true bill against him.

On visiting the court room on the afternoon of the day on which the trial commenced I was somewhat astonished at seeing a considerable crowd collected about the entrances, while the room itself appeared very empty. On inquiry I was informed the reading of the indictment was in progress, and that the public had resolved to signalize its sense of the impropriety of the whole business by withdrawing in a body until the prefatory formalities should be completed. I entered the court room and heard what was going on. Mr. Smith wore a long white beard and a pair of spectacles. He held the legal document in his hand, and, standing up with his face to the audience, read, in a distinct, modulated tone, with occasional hesitations at certain abstruse, unaccustomed words, a very revolting series of details.

Mr. Corbett stood in the small inconvenient dock, and heard

all, apparently unmoved. Within the bar sat his two counsel, Mr. Frank Larned Hunt and Mr. James Ross. Beside them were two young gentlemen of the settlement, who had been engaged to conduct the case for the prosecution. Messrs. John and Thomas Bunn were brothers, being sons of the late Dr. Bunn, who, it will be remembered, had, between the date of the retirement of Judge Johnson and his own death, acted as president of the court.

The trial lasted for nine days, the greater part of which were occupied by examining and cross-examining the witnesses for the prosecution. Each evening the offer of bail on behalf of the prisoner was renewed, and Mr. Corbett was permitted to leave the court and pass the night in custody of his securities only. Maria Thomas was the first witness called, and her examination lasted for one day and a half. During this time the judge in his charge afterwards declared she had stood the searching interrogatories put to her from both sides with perfect consistency in her replies, and without confusion of countenance in the broad light which streamed upon the witness box. The nature of the evidence she gave was such as to give an air of strong probability to the truth of her tale. Her descriptions of conversations with the prisoner, and of draughts and potions administered by him, were invested with overwhelming force, as coming from an ignorant girl, while the cunningly-devised series of questions, put with the object of entrapping her, only confirmed the truth of her story by precluding all possibility of her having been prompted in her replies. Throughout the trial several of the prisoner's brother clergymen in the settlement were constantly in court, and, stationed within the bar, watched the case on his behalf. These gentlemen, on hearing the evidence, declared themselves satisfied of the truth of the charges brought against Mr. Corbett. The court generally sat till the evening was well advanced.

On the first evening, during a brief visit I paid, the gravity of the proceedings was interrupted by a slight incident which threatened to turn it for a moment into a comic channel. The principal witness for the prosecution was under examination, and halted a little, as if uncertain about a reply. A bustle became apparent about the spot where the knot of clergymen were stationed close to

the bench, and a head wrapped about with a figured cotton pocket handkerchief, to protect it from the draughts, cropped out, while the words, pronounced in an excited tone, "eighteen, eighteen, your honor!" fell on the ears of the startled assemblage.

An immediate cessation of proceedings supervened, while the eyes of judge, magistrates, gentlemen of the jury, and the public were turned to the spot whence the interruption had proceeded. Appalled at the effect of his interference the unfortunate volunteer witness hastily turned to resume his seat, but that had unfortunately been occupied by one of his brother clergymen, each of whom had made all convenient speed to be seated the instant his voice had sounded. Surrounded by the strong light from the bench chandeliers, the unfortunate old gentleman, who had concentrated all the public attention on himself, looked rather wretched as the judge, turning to him, said, "Mr. —, if you mean to give in that fact in evidence, we will hear you, but it will be necessary for you to be sworn and state it on oath, without which formality no statement can be received here as of any value." The question had been with reference to the age of the witness, which Mr. — asserted to be eighteen years.

The cross-examination of the witnesses for the prosecution was conducted by Mr. Ross, who took the chief management in the whole case, Mr. Hunt merely sitting at a table taking notes and, now and then, with a series of somewhat theatrical gesticulations, putting a question to a witness, or addressing a remark to the bench. It was rumoured that "he was reserving himself for his speech to the jury." The medical gentlemen, whose evidence was taken, were examined with closed doors, and the report of their testimony was not given in the "Nor' Wester," in which, however, appeared a full report of all the rest of the case, from short-hand notes taken by Mr. Coldwell, filling almost the entire newspaper for several issues. With reference to this step, a Montreal newspaper said that "the report of Mr. Corbett's trial, which filled the *Nor' Wester* for some weeks, was one of the most disagreeable records which we remember to have seen." The *Montreal Witness*, in this instance, certainly used mild language; for the fact that the *Nor' Wester*, as a family magazine, survived the publication of the details of that trial, has always here been considered surprising.

Mr. Hunt's attendance at the trial ceased, I think, at the time the medical evidence was closed. It was reported outside that during its progress he removed his seat from within the bar to a stove at the other side of the apartment, where, with his feet comfortably perched on a level with his chin, he occupied himself in whistling.

Mr. Ross addressed the jury and finished the conduct of the case. He, as well as the conductors of the prosecution, were very pointedly complimented by the judge, at its close, on the manner in which they had performed their respective duties. The case for the defence, however, clearly broke down, the only evidence it succeeded in clearly establishing being that in favour of Corbett's former good character as a clergyman, while, in no instance, was the veracity of the witnesses on the other side disproved.

Some time before the scandal had become known to the public at large, Mr. Corbett had caused Maria Thomas, while still serving in his house, to assent before a petty magistrate, named John Taylor, resident in his parish, to the truth of certain statements contained in a paper read to her, and which had been drawn up by Mr. Corbett. The scope of this paper was to the effect that certain current reports regarding Mr. Corbett's conduct towards her were untrue. It was on it, as regarded in the light of an oath, that Mr. Hunt had depended when expressing his confidence that he would clear his client. The document was accordingly produced in evidence at the trial, and its contents were construed to contradict the evidence of Maria Thomas then given, as well as that contained in her deposition taken at the time of the preliminary examination. The judge at once set aside the document as being illegal, on the ground that the petty magistrate, before whom it was taken, had no authority to administer an oath except in process of law, and on the bench. Indeed, the poor man was afterwards deprived of his petty magistracy, in consequence of the ignorance displayed by him in his conduct in the matter. The contents of the paper Maria Thomas alleged had been very vaguely explained to her by Mr. Corbett, who had drawn it up to suit his own purposes. It, however, only remotely, and by inference, affected the charge on which the prisoner was arraigned, referring merely to Mr. Corbett as



having "taken no undue liberties" with the woman, and the prominent position assigned it was supposed to indicate a weak cause.

Apart from this so-called oath, the entire exculpatory evidence was directed to damage the character of Maria Thomas. Much that was advanced was obviously untrue, and the list of Mr. Corbett's witnesses included few names of respectability.

On the morning of the ninth day of the trial the judge commenced his charge which lasted nearly four hours, and was attentively listened to by a crowded court. About one o'clock the jury retired. It was said that the state of disrepair in which the jury room was, permitted the prisoners in neighbouring cells to hear the debates. After a retirement of more than four hours, during which the prisoner and his friends had been wandering at large round the court house, braving the inclemencies of the raw February day, a message was sent to the judge that the jury had agreed. The court house was immediately crowded to the doors, the lamps were lighted, and the magistrate and jurymen took their places. The foreman of the jury, Alexander Sutherland, who, until chosen jurymen, had been a warm partizan of the prisoner, trembled so violently as to be unable to speak, and in reply to the formal questions handed a paper to the bench on which the verdict was supposed to be inscribed. The paper was declined and he was required to read it. The jury unanimously found the prisoner guilty, but recommended him to the mercy of the court on account of his former good character.

In reply to the questions addressed to him, Mr. Corbett declined to recognize the authority of the court, and produced the Blue Book containing the evidence laid before the Common's Committee of 1857 to support him. His arguments were all heard and met. Finally, he said that nothing remained but to throw himself on the recommendation of the jury and assure Judge Black he was as innocent of the crimes imputed to him as that gentleman himself.

The sentence of the court was that Mr. Corbett be detained in prison for six calendar months. After it had been passed the prisoner was removed in custody of Sheriff McKenney; the

audience dispersed in perfect order, and the court addressed itself to the final duties of dismissing the jury, and winding up the business of the scandalous and protracted case.

## CHAPTER XX.

1863.

**Commander McClure's missing Arctic Despatches—Mr. Hunt's Lecture on Red River and its People—Petition for Local Militia Force—Petition for release of Mr. Corbett—Opinion of the Judge—Rumoured Insanity of the Prisoner—Forcible Liberation of Corbett—Seizure of James Stewart—Special Constable Volunteers—Violent release of Stewart—Remarks on the Corbett Disturbances.**

THE Northern Express which reached Red River towards the end of February, 1863, contained a packet of documents which, from the peculiar nature of their origin and wanderings during the preceding twelve years, were invested with a strong interest. In August, 1850, Sir Robert McClure, commanding Her Majesty's Discovery Ship "Investigator" lying off Cape Bathurst, in the Polar sea, committed certain dispatches to the charge of an Esquimaux, with instructions that they should be delivered to the officer in charge of the nearest Hudson's Bay post, and forwarded to England by the Company's packets. During the twelve years between 1850 and 1862 frequent inquiries had been made with the object of ascertaining what had become of these papers, but without success, as they have never reached any of the Company's posts.

The credit of discovering them at last is due to Mr. (now chief trader) Roderick Ross MacFarlane, the officer in charge of Fort Anderson, the most northerly post of the service. This gentleman when he first descended the Anderson River (the Beghulatessé of the maps) in 1857, with a view to establish Fort Anderson, specially intended for the Esquimaux trade, made inquiries relative to the dispatches of the Esquimaux with whom he came in contact. His failure in gaining information at that time he attributed partly to the inability of his Indian interpreters to convey his meaning to the people he desired to interrogate. During a visit which he paid in February, 1862, to the Esquimaux winter quar-

ters, Mr. MacFarlane at last succeeded in obtaining information which finally led to the recovery of the papers sought. They were delivered to him at Fort Anderson on 5th June, 1862.

They consisted of four packets addressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty and ten private letters directed to sundry individuals in England, along with a letter signed by Captain McClure to the officer of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Good Hope, before the foundation of Fort Anderson, the post situated further north than any other in the Company's territories, requesting him to forward the enclosures to their destinations. When finally recovered one of the packets for the Secretary of the Admiralty, the letter addressed to the officer in charge of Fort Good Hope, and two of the private letters, had been opened by the Esquimaux, probably with the object of ascertaining their contents. The other packets and letters were still sealed.

The long delay in recovering the documents was explained by Mr. MacFarlane as resulting from the following circumstances. In 1850 and for several years subsequently the Company's people held no direct intercourse with the tribes round the mouth of the McKenzie River, while it was not until Mr. MacFarlane himself went to explore the Anderson in 1857 that they came in contact with the Esquimaux on that river at all. Meanwhile the individual who had received the package from Captain McClure had died, and the papers, along with his other effects, were thrown aside and forgotten. The inquiries instituted by Mr. MacFarlane revived the recollection in the minds of his acting executors, of the incidents attending their coming into possession of one of their tribe, and a search, the successful result of which has been above detailed, was instituted.

The dispatch addressed by Captain McClure to the officer in charge of Fort Good Hope is written on foolscap, which, allowing for the mere lapse of time, is unsoiled as on the day the date of which it bears. Its wrapper, however, of which the seal was broken, gives evidence of having travelled in its smoky colour. On the outside of the latter, in Captain McClure's own handwriting, appear the words "I would thank you to give to the Esquimaux who delivers this to you, some present that he most values.—R. McC."'

Underneath the above in Mr. MacFarlane's hand appears the further inscription, "Received at Fort Anderson, Anderson River, 5th June, 1862:—Gave the Esquimaux who delivered the package 1 steel trap and 2 lbs. negrohead tobacco.—R. MacFarlane."

Such is the history so far as the documents before me, and which I copy in full under Appendix D, enable me to gather it, of the carriage, to civilized parts, of documents, to which the circumstances under which they were written, their long wanderings, the inquiries made for them by writers who reached their destination many years before their recovery as well as the singular manner in which that was at length effected, lend a somewhat strange interest. On their receipt at Red River the private letters were forwarded by Governor Dallas directly through the post office to their addresses in England, and the others were sent to the Admiralty.

Great credit is surely due Mr. MacFarlane for the zeal, enterprise and judgment evinced in the manner in which he performed his work, and the complete success with which his efforts were crowned must be acknowledged to have been very well deserved.

A few days after the condemnation of the Rev. Mr. Corbett it became publicly rumoured that Mr. Hunt felt himself aggrieved by some circumstances which had transpired during the progress of the case, and believed that, in consequence of his omission to appear in time to address the jury the Red River public had formed an inadequate conception of his abilities. After discontinuing his attendance at the court he had resided for some days at the establishment of McKenney and Co., where unlimited credit had been allowed him; but on the conclusion of the case and the balancing of his bill, he found himself unable to pay it. A good plan was, however, invented whereby it was hoped he might retrieve both his fortune and his reputation as a speaker. He obtained permission to occupy the court house for an evening and issued tickets at the price of one shilling each, for admission to a lecture which he determined to give on Red River and its people.

At the appointed hour of meeting, the concourse of carriages and cutters to the spot was great and the court room was early and completely filled. Mr. Hunt, who had been walking up and down the room familiarly conversing with his friends among the crowd,

ascended the bench and commenced his prelection speaking from the spot usually occupied by the chairman of the court. His discourse was divided under three heads: Red River past, present, and future. The first of these was short and passed off with profound effect. In his prefatory observations under the second head, the first mischance of the evening occurred. The lecturer had, doubtless with great propriety of similitude compared the growth of the colony from the midst of the heathen darkness in which from immemorial time the plains on which it rose and their benighted inhabitants had been enveloped, to the rising of the orb of day. He had also with becoming delicacy of expression referred to a recent event in which he had been concerned as "a blot upon this glorious Red River sun." These words it appeared formed the last on one of his foolscap pages, and on reading them, forgetting he had perused only one page of the sheet, he threw it aside after a number of others which had preceded it and which lay in admired disorder on his left hand side. Casting his eye on the page next in order, he was visibly discomposed at seeing no reference thereon to the "glorious Red River sun" or its blot, but quickly recovered himself and attempted to gain time by a parenthetical observation to the effect that "the very idea caused him to halt in breathless horror," occupying himself meanwhile in vigorously turning over the unread portion of his manuscript which he succeeded only in throwing into inextricable confusion.

After a further search of some moments the lecturer wisely desisted from persevering in the investigation and recommenced on another subject. He handled living men and existing institutions in bold and critical terms, and concluded his second head amid uproarious applause.

It was about this stage of the business that narrowly scrutinizing the individual addressed, he made the remark, "Doctor Schultz, will you favour me with a glass of cold water!" The doctor at once rose and left the room, returning after a short absence with a jug and tumbler which, with great stolidity of visage, he placed on the bench close to the lecturer who, as if unwittingly, poured out a generously large draught which he forthwith swallowed with apparent enjoyment. Proceeding to

the consideration of Red River future, he entered on a dissertation about the physical difficulties to be overcome between Lake Superior and Red River, as also the probable mineral wealth of the region, naming Doctor Schultz as the entertainer of an opinion contrary to that held by himself respecting the coal measures and their distribution on the line indicated. He then appeared to have lost the thread of connection between his papers which he handled in an uncertain way. It was also observed that Mr. Secretary Smith, who was seated near his official station close to the Bench, poured out a glass of the cold water which he put to his lips, but quickly withdrew grinning knowingly to Mr. Hunt, who watched him somewhat anxiously the while. Bowing graciously to the latter, Mr. Smith swallowed the fluid and returned the jug to its place on the table, while the lecturer, after another vigorous pull, began to ramble a good deal in his remarks, and as he with some considerable gesticulation, marched from end to end of the bench, asked the audience, "If it was not true, he had taken to himself for wife a daughter of the land!" He addressed individual hearers by name, and spoke affectedly about "those eyes which say so much, but never speak a word." Finally he produced a large quarto manuscript book, bound in black morocco, from which he read, in a tone so low as to be almost inaudible, some verses he was understood to state he had composed while living, as adopted son to an Indian chief, near Lake Superior. After the reading had been sustained for about fifteen minutes without any sign becoming apparent that the fragment possessed an end, Dr. Schultz, again approached the bench and recommended him to desist, as the audience was getting wearied. In a few neatly-turned sentences Mr. Hunt took leave of his hearers, assuring them of the satisfaction their sustained attention had afforded him, and hoping to be able to meet them under similar circumstances on some early day.

In concluding my account of events connected with this lecture, for which, as an eyewitness, I can vouch, I think it proper to state that, when supported by the apparent presumption afforded by the above circumstances, and by the oral testimony of certain men, who had tasted and smelt the contents of the lecturer's jug, that

what cold water it might have contained had been largely diluted with alcohol, I hazarded a jocular remark to Dr. Schultz a few days subsequently referring to the subject, he seriously and explicitly denied the presence of anything of a stimulative tendency as having existed in the vessel. In common with many other questions of greater moment, therefore, I presume I must leave the present one open, merely adding that I have always been of opinion there was a reference to this occasion in a remark made to me by Mr. Hunt about two years afterwards, when officiating as auctioneer in Dr. Schultz's sale-room, he singled me by name from the crowd around him, and, lifting a glass of cold water to his lips, assured me "there was no gin in it—*this time*." No second lecture was ever given but I am happy to be here able to record my belief that the one described answered its main end, and after all expenses had been defrayed cleared enough of money to relieve Mr. Hunt from the small temporary embarrassments in which he was involved.

During the spring a petition to the Governor and Council of Assiniboia had been signed by about four hundred and fifty settlers begging for the purchase of arms and the organization of a local military force. It was thought that a few competent drill sergeants and non-commissioned officers sent from England by Government might organize a very effective force of cavalry to be recruited in the settlement, where the people being all expert horsemen, such a service might soon become popular and the corps very efficient. The scheme, however, never was practically commenced.

Early in April, a petition praying for the release of the Rev. Mr. Corbett, and the remission of that part of his sentence of imprisonment which then remained unexpired, was presented to the Governor and Council of Assiniboia, who remitted it to the consideration of the Governor of Rupert's Land, as the only party legally competent to deal with it.

The petition was signed by about four hundred and twenty inhabitants of Red River Settlement and one hundred and ten inhabitants of the outlying settlement of the Prairie Portage, among the latter appearing the names of the Ven. Archdeacon



Cochran and of his son the Rev. Thomas Cochran. It contained a well-digested statement of all the arguments which could be put forward to favour compliance with its prayer. They were as follows: Mr. Corbett had, previous to his committal on the charge for which he had been imprisoned, borne an unsullied moral character during a residence in the colony of eleven years, and, as a clergyman, had laboured faithfully and diligently among his people, and was by them greatly esteemed and beloved. In the opinion of the petitioners the law had been sufficiently vindicated by the period of his confinement then already elapsed, especially as the ecclesiastical penalties following in the sentence of the civil tribunal would be far the most grievous, and would involve loss of reputation and social standing, of ministerial office with its privileges and emoluments of house and home, leaving a dark and dismal prospect for himself and family in the future. Moreover, although the law regarded the attempt to procure a miscarriage as being equally criminal with a successful operation, there was surely room for mercy when it was considered that, in the case under consideration, both mother and child were alive and well. There had also apparently been a very great difference of opinion among the jurors, six of whom deemed the evidence against the prisoner unsatisfactory, while unanimity in rendering the verdict was secured only after a protracted discussion and because the aforesaid six jurors felt themselves unable to alter the determination of their fellow-jurymen. The petition concluded by asserting that Mr. Corbett's mind seemed to be in a very precarious state, and that continuous imprisonment, combined with all his other troubles, might result in complete aberration or derangement of mind.

Before moving officially in the matter, Governor Dallas forwarded the petition to the president of the court before which the case had been tried, and asked his opinion on the propriety of complying with the recommendation. Mr. Black replied he had stated from the bench on receiving the verdict from the jury at the trial, that his own firm opinion, concurred in by all his associates, was that the verdict had been not only in accordance with the evidence; but the only one to which, as honest men under oath

and guided by the testimony laid before them, they could possibly have come. Nothing which had come to his knowledge since the trial had shaken his belief.

Moreover Mr. Corbett had since the trial written to his bishop in terms which could only be construed as an admission of having had criminal intercourse with the woman. This, although forming no part of the direct charge on which he had been convicted, bore indirectly very forcibly on the case, and supplied the presumptive evidence created by the existence of a strong motive for his alleged action. The pretended oath, on which so much stress had been laid at the trial, whereby Maria Thomas was asserted to have sworn that her master had never taken any "undue liberties" with her, as well as almost the entire exculpatory evidence led, had been directed to prove that no criminal intercourse had taken place. The damaging evidence of the girl and her family with reference to what had occurred during the prisoner's visits to their house, situated in the parish of St. Clement's, thirty-five miles from his parsonage, after she had quitted his service, was not attempted to be overthrown, save by the alleged admission of the committing magistrate that "they were all infernal liars."

Such being his own views on the justice of the verdict, the judge could not recommend the step of curtailing the term of imprisonment. The court had already, before passing sentence, considered all the mitigating circumstances, and its sentence had been very lenient indeed. The propriety of the verdict had been tacitly admitted by the petitioners themselves, in their silence on this point, so far as respected their own opinions, and corroborated by the inferences naturally resulting from the prisoner's letter to the Bishop.

The alleged difference of opinion among the jurors could not be taken into consideration. Even granting that the petitioners had been correctly informed on the subject, were such a precedent to be introduced as the annulment of a verdict on this ground, it would lead to the destruction of all finality in our criminal procedure. The foreman had declared, uncontradicted from his place in the box, that the jury had agreed on a verdict of guilty, and if the jurymen were not to be believed on oath, with the responsibility of

their position and the weight of testimony bearing on their minds in a Court of Justice, they were quite unworthy of credit after having been subjected to a renewal of popular influences out of doors.

With regard to the effect of a period of prolonged imprisonment on the sanity of the prisoner, the judge remarked that, supposing there unhappily to be any tendency to that mental aberration of which the petitioners made mention, he could imagine nothing more likely to perpetuate and aggravate it than the keeping up in his mind those delusive hopes which a continued agitation was calculated to raise; and, in all probability, the prisoner's condition, mental and physical, would be greatly benefitted were his friends to leave him in quietness to improve the period of his imprisonment by a course of "solemn meditation upon the past, and of virtuous resolution regarding the future."

In conformity with the above opinion, Governor Dallas refused to comply with the prayer of the petition.

Meanwhile, rumours regarding the insanity of the prisoner gained credit. The truth of the rambling assertions contained in his letter already mentioned to the bishop was indignantly denied through the "Nor' Wester," and the whole production stigmatized as the imbecile composition of an unfortunate man, whom political persecution had driven to the verge of lunacy. The Bishop was certainly not the only man to whom he had written rather wildly, for the use of pen and ink was allowed him. As a specimen of the contents of several letters addressed to influential men in the colony, I shall here give an abstract of the matter contained in one to which I have had access.

It is dated "Red River Prison, 28th of March, 1863," and opens with some notices of barometrical and thermometrical observations in registering which he described himself as having been occupied for two or three years. He then proceeds to mention an earthquake as having occurred a few nights previously, which had thrown him out of bed and slammed the prison doors. He and a boy in a neighbouring apartment had differed in opinion about the number of vibrations in the earthquake; but he had paid no heed to this, as his assistant was not presumed to be a meteorological observer.

He recommends that the "Nor' Wester" should support law and order, and instances himself as a conspicuous example of a man, who had supported good government—any assertions to the contrary being perversions of the truth. He exhorts his correspondent to put his shoulder to the wheel of government and grease it well, and that great man, Governor Dallas, would certainly make a railroad from Red River to the Lake of the Woods, and the buzz of the railway cars would be heard in the houses of the colony, and electric wires stretch over the country. Governor Mactavish, he said, was a quiet efficient man and deserving of local support. Judge Black was a clever man; but ought to keep his place on the bench, and not go out of court during the whole trial and leave another man to act in his absence, and then all would go on well. Governors Dallas and Mactavish and Judge Black made a fine constellation. They were all stars in their way. He thought if he had the Simpson telescope of the scientific institute of Rupert's Land he could view with its aid the whole firmament of other constellations above, around, and beneath them with delight and profit.

After a long series of disconnected remarks on his nine days trial, his sinful state and proneness to error, he concludes by recommending the Bishop and Church to the good offices of his correspondent, and winds up with the words "*Peace—Peace* is the end of good government; advocate, then, the end of good government."

As the production of which this is the scope is manifestly the work of a man really or feignedly insane, it is almost superfluous for me to state that earthquake and coadjutor observer were unrealities, and that Judge Black neither on the occasion of his trial nor on that of any other case over which he has been called to preside ever left the court under the temporary presidency of a substitute. A less equivocal proof of mental alienation than the above was given by one of Mr. Corbett's fellow-prisoners about the time these letters were being written. This man, not it is believed without the passive encouragement of Mr. Corbett, contrived to throw a bill of hair, taken from his mattress and saturated with tallow, burning from the prison window, in such a manner

that it fell on the roof, which, being done during the night, narrowly failed to set the prison on fire. The partial blaze actually accomplished was observed by people living half a mile or more from the spot, who went to the prison and gave the alarm. Had the attempt succeeded, there is every reason to fear the incendiaries would themselves have been burned in their cells while their victims were asleep.

Previous to the 20th April several assemblages had taken place in the vicinity of the gaol of men who were reported to have in view the forcible liberation of Mr. Corbett from custody. On the forenoon of that day a Petty Court had been held in the court room under the same roof as the cells in one of which the prisoner was confined. As usual numerous persons had attended the Petty Court, to which the public were freely admitted without any suspicion being entertained by the custodians of the place that anything unusual was in contemplation. The business of the court having been concluded and the audience dispersed, a few determined characters surrounded the door leading to the cells and easily overawing the jailor, an old Frenchman of sixty winters, with an iron crowbar broke the padlock by which the prison door was fastened. Mr. Corbett, who had already drawn on his great coat, and stood in readiness to receive his liberators, stepped out of gaol and was forthwith driven home to his family at Headingley.

James Stewart, the parochial schoolmaster attached to the neighbouring parish of St. James, was known to be one of the ringleaders in the attack on the prison. For the apprehension of this man and of twelve others concerned in the affair warrants were immediately issued, and, on the ensuing day, Stewart was lodged in the same prison whence he had liberated Corbett. On the afternoon of the day of Stewart's capture, two of his friends visited Fort Garry and obtained an interview with Governor Dallas. These men were William Hallett and John Bourke—both men of great influence among their people, the former being "Captain" of the English half-breeds in their expeditions to the Plains. The object of their visit was to demand the immediate liberation of Stewart, and a full indemnity for all his accomplices.

The Governor attempted to reason with them on the impropriety

of making such a demand as it lay not in his power legally or consistently to comply with. They informed him they were committed to their friend before the public and they could not retract any more than he. They assured him if he would not give Stewart up peaceably, they and their friends would release him by force, though bloodshed might ensue. It was well understood they would keep their word in calling out their friends, who would follow them with unquestioning confidence; but, as it was impossible for the Governor to act as they desired, they were dismissed with a refusal and immediate steps were taken to call out special constables to repel any attack which might be made on the prison.

On the morning of the ensuing day, Wednesday, the 22nd April, a large force of special constable volunteers were early in waiting at Fort Garry, and as many of the councillors of Assiniboia as could be communicated with, were convened. The Governors of Rupert's Land and Assiniboia and the Bishop of Rupert's Land, who, although a man of peace, showed no symptoms of shirking the fray, along with three of the more influential magistrates, formed a temporary council. In the course of the forenoon a body of about 30 men, mounted and armed, appeared among the volunteers outside the Fort, and, after some deliberation, requested an interview with the Governor, which was immediately granted. Messrs. Hallett and Bourke, along with four others, proceeded as a deputation before the temporary council convened in the Fort. Substantially the same scene was enacted as on the preceding day; the same demands were made and the same reply given. Finally the deputation retired to rejoin their friends outside.

The number of the latter had meanwhile been augmented to forty or fifty. During the absence of their leaders they had observed among the general crowd a person whom they had imagined to belong to their party, in consequence of his having attended a private meeting held that morning by its members previous to setting out for the prison. His presence among the general public gave rise to a suspicion that, on the former occasion, he had acted as a government spy. Him they accordingly captured and, having caused him to dismount, removed the saddle and bridle from his horse, which they let loose, detaining the rider among them as a hostage.

The intelligence that the insurgents had taken one of the volunteers prisoner did not, as may be imagined, diminish the strong feeling existing among the loyally disposed. Shortly afterwards a second capture was effected, after a spirited chase on horseback, in the course of which the rioters had put a well-affected citizen in grievous bodily fear by pointing guns, pistols and other deadly weapons at him, as, urged by mortal terror, he caused his nag to spin across the Plains, hard pressed by the foe. A third capture was attempted; but the man who was to have been seized turned his horse's head towards his intended captors and, producing a horribly ugly looking horse pistol, stated that the first man who laid a hand on his bridle would surely die. His opponents, thinking he looked as if he meant what he said, prudently let that man go.

The interview between the insurgent leaders and the council being over, the former returned to their companions and stated the result. The whole body then proceeded to that part of the prison lying furthest from the Fort, and, having torn up the pickets which enclosed the prison yard, again broke open the gaol and liberated their friend. This done, they discharged their fire-arms in the air, and with loud shouts returned home, no molestation being offered to their proceedings by the authorities.

Here then closed the series of events immediately connected with the Corbett case. No attempt had been made to re-capture him, and he was permitted to remain unmolested, living with his family at Headingley until about a year subsequently, when he quitted the settlement and returned to England. Since his arrival there we have occasionally heard of him as studying medicine and agitating against the Company. An attempt to raise an action in the English Courts, against Governor Dallas for false imprisonment, proved abortive, breaking down at an early stage. His wife and family remain in the settlement supporting themselves amid much privation, but kindly regarded by the people among whom Mr. Corbett formerly acted as minister.

Maria Thomas died in 1867. Her daughter lives with her mother's family.

A few days after Stewart's liberation the Justices of the Peace

addressed a letter to the Governor, recounting the above circumstances, advising that, until a regular force should be obtained, no further proceeding should be taken against the rioters, and pointing out that, except as regarded suits having no public interest, without a force acting under the Queen's direct authority, justice could no longer be administered.

Much excitement had prevailed among the well-affected on the day of Stewart's liberation, and the action of the authorities in refusing to support the law to the last extremity was strongly censured. Their reasons for refusing compliance with the belligerent demands of their friends were surely weighty.

With the first shot fired in the strife, the authority they possessed over their undisciplined and unorganized friends would have disappeared. The skirmish occurring on the first day would have been merely the prelude to a series of struggles, the end of which no human wisdom could foresee. Bloodshed would have been avenged by further blood. Mr. Corbett had made himself personally unpopular among the French Canadians by his constant attacks upon their creed; and people who, with the example before them of the Irish disturbances in the English towns, have witnessed the peculiarly susceptible temper of its votaries when exposed to hostile criticism, and their proneness to meet the arguments of the lips with those of the brickbat, ought to appreciate the hesitation of an unsupported government, in letting loose the pioneers of a war which would immediately have become one of Protestant against Catholic, and in which the primary cause of the whole disturbance would soon have been wholly lost in the multitude of complications with which we would have been overwhelmed.

The reign of such conflicting elements at any time would be destructive, but when the peculiar circumstances of the settlement at the date in question, amid unsettled and warring Indian tribes is considered, it will be seen how important it was to permit the savages to see no symptoms of internal quarrels among the people, but on the contrary, a unity of sentiment and action in all public movements.

Lastly, I may mention the case of Governor Eyre, of Jamaica.



as that of a man who has since had to deal with something of the same nature as then threatened the very existence of the community, and beg to put the case. If he, supported by a military force to regulate the strife, and assisted by subordinates officially supposed to be competent to perform their respective duties, could restore order only after the occurrence of the scenes which caused such deep indignation in England, what, in the event of a civil war between races and creeds, might reasonably be supposed to have become of the Government of Assiniboine, unsupported by troops of any kind to give a decided preponderance to the side of Law, and provided with subordinate officials perfectly unaccustomed to deal with popular tumults? Again, if Governor Eyre, acting under a direct commission from the Crown, and supported by a friendly Government, found escape from the consequences of popular odium a matter so difficult, what would personally have become of Governor Dallas, when called to account by a Colonial Secretary, manifestly hostile to his principles, and a Government which for years had withheld its practical support and recognition from them, for a butchery, to which he had lent the weight of an authority, derived from a Commission, the right of the donors of which to grant it, was the desire of all concerned, except themselves, to annul and ignore?—See Appendix E.

## CHAPTER XXI.

1863.

*Sioux visit—Little Crow—Count di Castiglione Maggiore—Sketch of Governor Dallas' Canadian tour—Changes in the Hudson's Bay Company—Freighting disasters—Brigadier General Sibley's Sioux Campaign—Senator Ramsay's Chippeway Mission—Postal Improvements—Mr. Shelley's hunting tour.*

THROUGHOUT the first months of 1863 constant rumours had been in circulation with regard to the alleged intention of the Sioux to pay the settlement a visit. During the month of February it was thought almost certain they would come, and the gentleman in charge of Pembina had actually to tell some of them that, in consequence of the occupation of the court room by the tribunal trying the case of the Rev. Mr. Corbett, the authorities had no place to put at the disposal of their people and they had better defer their visit.

On the 29th of May, under the leadership of their most able and formidable chief, called "Little Crow," a band of about eighty Sioux at last arrived, and were as usual lodged in the court room. The chief, surrounded by some trusted friends, generally occupied the bench, sitting, like the rest, cross-legged on the floor. The party remained for three days, and had two long interviews with the authorities, the first of which took place publicly in the court room, and the second in a private room in Fort Garry. Substantially the same communications passed on both occasions. During the conference in the court room, that chamber was densely crowded by the public, who gazed and listened with great curiosity.

Speaking through an interpreter "Little Crow" stated his desire to be on friendly terms with the English, whose allies his people had been during the Anglo-American war, and whose flags and medals, of the reign of George the Third, men of his band carried and ostentatiously displayed at the time of his visit. He said that, during the time of the war alluded to, the British had told his people that whenever they should get into trouble with the Americans they had only to come and the folds of the red flag of the north would wrap them round, and preserve them from their enemies. He had come to claim the fulfilment of this promise. His people had suffered much for years; good faith had not been kept with them, they had been defrauded of their own, and advantage was then being taken of the rash behaviour of their young braves to gain a pretence for exterminating them. He knew he and his men were then fighting with the ropes round their necks, and their only safety lay in waging a truceless war. Already he had been deceived by a piece of sharp practice in which he had been unfairly induced to give up American prisoners in his possession under pretext of effecting an exchange, whereas his friends in the hands of the enemy had been hanged.

He begged Governor Dallas to exert his influence on his behalf with General Sibley, the officer commanding the United States Troops acting against the Sioux in Minnesota. He wished the General to come to terms with him, but added if he refused to do so the Indians must fight in righteous self defence. Governor Dallas promised to represent the case to the General.

Little Crow then desired a present of food and ammunition. A liberal supply of the first, in the shape of pemmican, was at once promised; but the second was refused, on the ground that it was impossible the English, while at peace with the Americans, should supply their enemies with ammunition; and besides, that such a step would interpose an insuperable barrier against his performing any good offices in their favour with General Sibley who would listen to no pacific overtures urged by men gratuitously providing his enemies with the sinews of war. They replied all that was wanted was ammunition to enable them to gain a living by hunting. This, however, was a subject on which no com-

promise was possible. Mr. Seward had, through Lord Lyons and Lord Monck, directed the attention of all British frontier officials to the cruelty and hostility involved towards the defenceless border settlers in supplying their enemies with powder and shot, and Mr. Dallas was on his guard.

The good faith kept by the Sioux towards the English had been evinced during the preceding winter, over the whole of which the Company's houses and steamboat, though lying perfectly unprotected in the heart of their country at Georgetown, had been respected. Little Crow stated to Governor Dallas this was permitted with the full intention of his people, who had no wish to injure any one they knew to be English in his person or property. He promised that the same line of conduct should be persevered in. When interrogated as to the marks by which his people knew the Americans from the English he described the ordinary ones as three in number. The Americans used four-wheeled waggons, the English two-wheeled wooden Red River carts; the former were drawn by mules, and the latter by horses or oxen; and while the Americans had pale faces, the English cheeks were red. He added that the exhibition of a red flag would be sure always to prevent the possibility of a mistake.

Although Little Crow mentioned only these three distinctive marks, the Indians, who are remarkably observant, had many others. Among the rest, their ear is said to have easily distinguished between American and English voices, and the unlucky expression "I guess," incautiously used within hearing of a sharp-eared Sioux, has doomed many an unsuspecting victim to a premature end, by betraying his nationality.

During their short residence, the Sioux fraternized very cordially with our Saulteaux Indians of this settlement, running foot races and associating with them. The latter were, however, propitiated by the authorities, who distributed among them provisions proportioned to the quantities given the Sioux. At the conclusion of their three days' visit our guests departed apparently satisfied, leaving all who had to do with them not ill pleased that they were gone.

While the public conference in the court room was in progress,

there appeared upon the scene, a worshipful personage whose advent had for some time been expected. Count Arrigo di Castiglione Maggiore, Chamberlain to the King of Sardinia, had been recommended from London to the good offices of Governor Dallas, who was charged to assist him, in whatever way he might find conveniently practicable, in his design of crossing the American Continent on British Territory, partly in execution of a secret political mission entrusted to him by his sovereign, and partly in pursuit of the pleasures of the chase.

The Count was accompanied by his Aide-de-camp Major de Vecchi, and Captain Davenport and Lieutenant Lake, two English officers of the 62nd regiment, then stationed in Canada. They had come by the "Wood Rood" from St. Paul, along with several other gentlemen connected with the Hudson's Bay service. After having spent between two and three weeks in preparing luggage and engaging servants in the settlement, the party proceeded over the Plains, intending to travel together as far as Fort Colville, whence the English officers were to go through British Columbia to Vancouver's Island, while the Count and his Aide-de-camp went down the Columbia River to Fort George.

After having concluded the session of the northern council, which, in 1863, was held at Fort Garry, Governor Dallas started on a summer tour of inspection through the country. The route he proposed to follow was by Lake Superior and Michipicoton to Moose Factory, whence he intended returning to Red River Settlement after visiting Canada. Accompanied by Chief Trader McMurray, Mr. Dallas embarked in a canoe at Lower Fort Garry, on the afternoon of the 10th June, and, after travelling all night, reached Fort Alexander on the ensuing day. This post is situated on Lake Winnipeg at the mouth of the Winnipeg River, and forms the head-quarters of the district known in the country as that of Lac La Pluie. Here Mr. Dallas found waiting him his canoe, manned by eleven Iroquois, who had been sent from Montreal to meet him. On the 12th of June leaving Mr. McMurray at his head-quarters, he started on his further journey, accompanied by a clerk. On Winnipeg River, about 100 miles above its mouth, following the windings of the stream, is built the small trading

post of Eagle's Nest, with the Church Missionary Society's Station of Islington in its immediate vicinity. About 100 miles further, at the point where the River Winnipeg issues from the Lake of the Woods, stands Rat Portage which Mr. Dallas reached on the 15th of June. Shortly before coming to it the outlet of English River was passed on the left hand. This stream forms the line of direct communication by way of Lac Seul with Albany on James' Bay. The solitude and isolation of the posts in this portion of the territory are said to be more complete than is the case even in the McKenzie River and other Northern districts.

Rat Portage, however, and the other posts on the line now more immediately under review, are places which, from their proximity to the American border, are exposed to a good deal of trading competition and consequently much bustle. On the 18th of June the Governor reached Fort Francis, a post on the frontier of the United States, situated at the point where Rainy River leaves Rainy Lake. Surveyors have stated that a lock constructed at this spot would give a stretch of water communication navigable for steamers, from the western extremity of the Lake of the Woods through Rainy River to the eastern shore of Rainy Lake, 160 miles in length. These bodies of water form the International frontier and lie on the route so long proposed to be opened between Red River Settlement and Lake Superior.

Leaving Fort Francis on the 19th Mr. Dallas reached Fort William on Lake Superior on 25th June. The country between Rainy Lake (Lac La Pluie) and Lake Superior is extremely rugged. About seventy miles west from Fort William is the elevated ridge or height of land which separates the region whose waters flow into Lake Winnipeg from that drainage into Lake Superior. Over this stretch of the route between Rainy Lake and Lake Superior alternate lakes and morasses prevail, leaving few and isolated spots eligible for settlement. The water transport, even for canoes, is difficult, and obstructed by rapids and portages, sometimes long, and susceptible of improvement only after heavy outlay. The timber is dense but poor, stunted and valueless. The Roman Catholic mission station stands about two miles from Fort William.

The Kaministiquioia River, flowing down a rugged and precipitous channel from the height of land into Lake Superior, abounds in fish, and the fisheries at its mouth have been productive. A ready market for the produce of these operations is obtainable in Canada and the United States. Fort William is the head of steam navigation on the Canadian shore of Lake Superior, and occupies an important site as a depot in the event of the Canadian scheme being effected, which proposes the opening up of the direct overland route to Red River and the West through British territory.

At Fort William Governor Dallas was met by Chief Factor Hopkins from Montreal. They quitted Fort William on 28th June and proceeded in their canoe along the northern shore of the Lake, touching at the Pic, a small Hudson's Bay post on the way, and arrived at Michipicoton on the 2nd July. This post stands at the mouth of the river of the same name, along which runs the route leading to Moose Factory on James' Bay, the depot which had formed the purposed limit of the Governor's trip on his leaving Red River. Circumstances, however, which had come to his knowledge on his journey, caused him to deviate from his original design, and as the principal officers resident in the department had assembled to meet him at Michipicoton, he there held a formal council for the Southern and Montreal departments, and having completed his arrangements, pursued his journey towards Canada on the 4th July. He reached the Sault de Ste Marie on the 6th July. At this spot, lying between Lakes Superior and Huron, a Hudson's Bay post has long existed. The formation of a ship canal connecting the two lakes, and enabling vessels to pass St Mary's Falls and proceed to other points, while opening up the country westward, has severely damaged the Sault itself, which was long the depot of trade and navigation on these lakes.

Leaving the Sault de Ste Marie on 8th July the Governor's further route lay along the northern shore of Lake Huron. After visiting the Bruce Mines, where a considerable population exists, and the Hudson's Bay station of Mississingue and La Cloche, he left Lake Huron and ascended the French River to Lake Nipissing, on which stands a post bearing the same name. Passing across the lake and down the Mattawa, he reached the River Ottawa, at

the confluence of which two streams stands a trading station of the Company. From this Post of Mattawa to the Rapides des Joachims, which mark the head of Ottawa steam navigation, the distance is sixty miles or thereby, over which the current of the Ottawa is strong, while two large and dangerous rapids intervene. The latter are named the "Deux Rivieres" and the "Roches Capitaines." Fort William on the Ottawa was reached on the 16th, and Montreal on 21st July, after a detention of two days at the former place.

Between the 20th August and 2nd September Mr. Dallas was occupied on an expedition which he made down the St Lawrence to Tadousac, and thence up the River Saguenay to Lake St John, where certain affairs required his presence. Leaving Montreal finally on the 5th September he returned, by Toronto, Sarnia, Grand Haven, Milwaukie, St. Paul and Crowwing to Red River, which he reached on 9th October, after an absence of four months.

During the absence of Governor Dallas, matters had proceeded smoothly enough in the colony, but intelligence had reached it of an event which, though bearing in only a remote manner on the interests of the settlement, was of high importance in the estimation of all connected in its commercial relations with the Hudson's Bay Company, and gave rise to much strong feeling and strong language.

The Hudson's Bay Company, if under its charter it possesses the right of exclusive *Fur Trade*, possesses equally the monopoly of *all trade* in Rupert's Land. At different periods it has attempted to give an impetus to the pursuit of different branches of industry in the country by the formation of subordinate companies; but of these the only one whence appreciable profit has been derived is that commonly known as "The Fur Trade," which may here be assumed as the alone source of the revenue of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The parties, then, whose emoluments are directly affected by the fluctuations in the profits of the *Fur Trade* of Rupert's Land are of two classes. These are, the Hudson's Bay Company, which furnishes the capital stock; and the *Fur Trade*, which is employed to carry out the actual working of the business. The members of the former class reside in the civilized world and are legally



represented by the annually elected members of their Board, known as the Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee, who meet at stated times and exercise the supreme control over the affairs of the Company at the Hudson's Bay House in London. The members of the latter class, or the "Fur Trade," called also the "Wintering Partners," reside entirely in the localities where the business is carried on in North America, and are composed of the two grades of commissioned officers, called the Chief Factors and Chief Traders. These furnish none of the capital stock, and receive their commissions merely as the rewards of their long service, seldom of shorter date than fourteen years, as clerks. No annual election of officials forming anything like the Company's London Board takes place among the partners of the Fur Trade, who scattered over the vast territories of the Company could not under present circumstances take united action in any matter, how nearly so ever it might affect their corporate interests. The only approximation to a common action which exists is afforded by these annual meetings of councils so often already referred to, at which all Chief Factors within practicable distance are entitled, and Chief Traders, under similar circumstances, invited to attend.

Again the Board in London has a special representative in Rupert's Land in the person of the Governor-in-Chief. He is president of the councils of officers held in the country, and I have heard of no instance in which he had been out-voted, or his action set aside by any such body; though Sir George Simpson in his evidence before the Commons' Committee of 1857, asserted the possibility of such a contingency occurring. The partners in the Fur Trade have no representative at the House in London. Governor Dallas, for a year after his retirement from the administration of the Company's affairs in Rupert's Land, held an office which subsequently became extinct, of associate or adviser of this Board in London, but I have no reason to believe that he acted in any way as a delegate from the people in the country, though giving the Board the benefit of what practical knowledge and experience he had himself gained during his residence in it. But even this had not taken place at the time to which I refer.

The relations between the Fur Trade and the Hudson's Bay

Company are defined in a document called the "Deed Poll," compliance with the conditions contained in which is imperatively required, under a separate deed of covenant, entered into and executed by each clerk, who, having the majority of the votes of all the chief factors in his favour, receives from the representative of the Board of the Company, the commission which entitles him to a share in the profits of the Fur Trade. The penalty incurred by a breach of the provisions of the Deed Poll is ruinous.

A definite number of shares compose the aggregate interest of the Fur Trade. Of these, a Chief Trader possesses one, and a Chief Factor two. When a vacancy occurs through death or retirement, it is filled up by the promotion of a clerk to a Chief Tradership, or of a Chief Trader to his Chief Factorship.

An annual dispatch, bearing the signatures of the members of the board, is addressed each year by these gentlemen to the council of the Northern Department, and treats of the different points of interest which are pending at the time in connection with the Company's affairs. This constitutes the sole occasion on which the Company as a body approaches the Fur Trade as a body in the whole course of their business. It is answered by the representative of the Board as president of the council, or Governor-in-chief. All other communications pass through the Secretary.

It was pretty generally known in the country from the contents of the letter addressed to the council in 1863 that certain negotiations were pending with some gentlemen with whom the Board had held several interviews concerning the opening up of overland communication to the west through their territories.

A feeling of stupefaction, quickly succeeded by one of deep indignation, may be said to have stolen over the senses of the holders of commissions in the Fur Trade, as a report penetrated to their different stations, which reached Red River during the month of July. It was truly said that the Company had in a body sold their shares to a new set of stockholders; that the nominal capital of the concern had been quadrupled; that instead of being, as formerly, held in so few hands that it might be called almost a private business, its stock had, under the auspices of another great commercial corporation, been put into the market,

where its prices were quoted like those of any other joint stock company; that a new body of directors, containing two gentlemen who had sat on the old Board, had been elected; that the old Board had retired without a word of farewell to the Fur Trade; and lastly, that the latter was in precisely the same condition as formerly, its rights being guaranteed by the Deed Poll.

The cordial terms in which the annual dispatch had been invariably couched, had led many well-disposed people in the territories inadvertently to harbour the idea that the gentlemen who signed it regarded those to whom it was addressed with an interest almost personal, in the extent of its anxiety for their welfare; and it must be confessed that the conscious entertainment of such an opinion evidenced a degree of credulity on the part of its holders for which even a life's sojourn in the desert was no adequate excuse. The first impression of some, however, on receipt of the stunning intelligence above set forth, was that they had been individually hardly dealt with.

The "Nor' Wester" was cruel enough to insult their misery by an assurance which carried with it an irresistible conviction of its truth, that they had all been sold "like dumb driven cattle," and in gleeful paragraphs commented on the treatment which had rewarded the services of the Company's corps of "hardy, active intelligent factors," as the great men of the Fur Trade had been stigmatized in the officially published prospectus of the good things which had just changed owners.

The International Financial Association had negotiated the transfer of the stock in the London market, and the report had got into circulation that the Hudson's Bay Company, having become extinct, had been succeeded by it as the inheritor of the monopoly. An officer in a Northern district having heard, and believed this rumour, fell on a strange device with the intention of paying a becoming homage to the new state of things. He called his three district boats the "International," the "Financial" and the "Association" and caused their respective names to be printed on the bows of the craft indicated.

Later news confirmed the first reports and formal announcements arrived of the formation of the new Hudson's Bay Company under

the auspices of Sir Edmund Walker Head, Bart., late Governor General of Canada, and a Board elected by the new stockholders. One of the principal objects of the Company was stated to be the establishment of postal and telegraphic communications across the continent to British Columbia. The want of such a means of communicating with the authorities in the latter colony in the event of an American war, was said to have caused the Secretary for the Colonies considerable anxiety at the time of the Trent affair. As yet even the preliminary arrangements for the execution of this scheme are incomplete.

Since the time to which I refer considerable discussion had taken place in Rupert's Land with reference to the provisions and true meaning of the above mentioned Deed Poll. It appears that a good deal of laxity of knowledge had prevailed in the minds of men interested in relation to this subject, and even lawyers are said to differ in the views they hold about its details. Already one amicable suit has been decided on the merits of one of the details involved in it by Vice Chancellor Wood, in favour of the Fur Trade. As, however, the questions in abeyance between the Company and the trade are still in an elementary state, although they would furnish topics sufficient to occupy several chapters, I consider it would be improper for me further to enlarge on them in this place.

After the stirring events of the period over which the Corbett trial and its accompanying incidents had extended, the wheels of Government at Red River worked smoothly. No public excitement occurred, and as the summer commenced the bulk of the male population dispersed as usual on their migratory pursuits. The mismanagement of the people in charge of the steamer "International," who, instigated by their fears of the Sioux, had managed to work her up the river as far as Fort Abercrombie, combined with the extremely low state of the water consequent on an unusually dry season, prevented the boat making even one trip down stream to the settlement. Under the pickets of Fort Abercrombie they accordingly lay all the summer, while her crew passed their season of enforced idleness as best they might, in card-playing, rye whisky tipping, and fraternising with the people

in the Fort. Her inaction, however, gave employment to the freighters of the settlement, who otherwise must have sought elsewhere an outlet for their energy. Secure in the enjoyment of the benefits accruing from the good understanding the authorities had contrived to establish with the Sioux, these people made their journeys up the Red River to Georgetown or Fort Abercrombie in safety. The Indians were, however, always on the alert, as was proved by the frequent and fatal accidents befalling American citizens who, incredulous of their near presence, ventured to take a walk in the woods skirting their picketed fortresses.

Some anxiety was felt in the settlement as reports spread that Little Crow, with a band of his followers, had joined company with one of the parties of Red River Buffalo hunters on the Plains, and could not be shaken off by the latter. When the report was confirmed, however, the additional evidence came that the Indian chief, with his followers, were behaving themselves in the most friendly manner among the hunters, and that there was no reason to fear on their behalf.

The misfortunes which befel the Hudson's Bay Company, in their mercantile career during the summer and autumn of 1863, formed a suitable sequel to those they had encountered as a legislative and judicial body in the spring. Intelligence arrived so early as the month of May, of the wreck, in the gulf of St. Lawrence, of the Canadian Steam Packet, "Anglo-Saxon," containing a large quantity of the consignment of goods to be forwarded to Red River for the year's trade, as also the "Spring Packet" containing the dispatches and documents already referred to, as passing between the Board and Northern council once a year. Close upon this disastrous intelligence arrived the news that the iron vessel "Canada," with the bulk of the remainder of the year's supply on board, had foundered in the ice on the American coast, and all her cargo gone below. A few packages, which unavoidable delay in their preparation had prevented sailing in the "Canada," followed safely in another vessel, but the vast bulk of the Hudson's Bay consignment by St. Paul had been irretrievably lost. Advices of the disaster reached England in time to enable the Company, by using all the efforts they could make, to prepare a

duplicate outfit, to convey which to York factory, along with their regular vessels to the Bay, they chartered a ship called the "Ocean Nymph." It, however, unfortunately went astray, and, after having been lost in the ice and passed the autumn in a series of desultory attempts to get right, finally turned up, towards the end of October, at St. John's, Newfoundland, in a very leaky and rickety condition, with all her cargo still on board.

The summer, which had been scorchingly hot, had dried up all the marshes in the country, and the rivers were all very low. Towards Hudson's Bay this circumstance had been felt throughout the season to such an extent that it was very difficult to induce the men in the Inland district brigades, starting even early in summer, to receive the usual amount of freight in their boats for transport up the shallow waters between the Bay and Norway House, while the Portage La Loche boats, which arrive at the factory late in the season, returned with light loadings. The fall brigades from Red River to York, after spending twenty-three days on Lake Winnipeg, struggled on to Norway House only to mutiny, and refuse, on account of the low water in the rivers and the lateness of the season, to complete the trip to the Bay, and returned to the settlement without cargo, thus entailing on the Company a serious loss, both directly and indirectly, through the damaging interruption it caused their business.

On the Mississippi the water was so low that the steamboats were constantly grounding, and the interruption caused by this circumstance delayed the delivery of a consignment forwarded to make up what had been lost on the Atlantic in case anything, such as what actually occurred to the "Ocean Nymph," should delay the delivery of her cargo at Red River. A brigade of one hundred and seventy carts was forwarded late in the autumn from the settlement to Fort Abercrombie to connect with the transports carrying this freight from St. Paul to that point. The delay on the Mississippi caused further delay on the portion of the journey between St. Paul and Fort Abercrombie, and the people from Red River Settlement, on arriving at that station, and hearing no intelligence of the loadings they had believed to have been waiting for them there, got alarmed at the near approach of winter,

and returned with empty carts to the settlement a few days before the arrival at Fort Abercrombie of the waggons they had gone to meet. The goods ultimately reached Red River by the difficult and expensive process of winter horse sledge transport.

While the agents of the Company were employed in combatting these irregularities in their freighting service, Brigadier General Sibley was vigorously scouring the Plains in search of the Sioux. His operations for a time showed no result equivalent to their magnitude, and the St. Paul newspapers amused their readers by comparing the General to Gulliver, and his foes to the Lilliputians, who carried on the war against him while escaping, metaphorically speaking, between the legs of the cumbrous battalions, which he moved about to execute his projects. During the month of August the dead body of Little Crow was found on the Plains. The manner of his death never was, I believe, satisfactorily explained, but the probability was he had been killed by a member of his own band with whom he had quarrelled.

A means of communication with the savage enemy, through some channel possessing the confidence of both parties, was to the General a desideratum. It was, during the course of the autumn, rather curiously supplied. The half-breed Buffalo hunters of the border were on their way to the Buffalo country, when they encountered General Sibley and his troops, in camp on the prairie. The priest who that year accompanied the hunt, named Père André, pushed his way to head-quarters, and had an interview with the General in his own tent. That officer, after conversing with his clerical visitor, came to the conclusion he would make a very efficient ambassador, and though he did not immediately arrange with him about the service, he subsequently granted him a commission, in virtue of which Père André visited some Sioux tribes, and urged on their chiefs the propriety of making peace with the Americans. A more suitable emissary could scarcely have been selected. Père André was personally known as a missionary to the Indians he visited, and his own desire to see peace restored was very strong. His efforts, however, were ineffectual, and he complained, in giving an account of his embassy to the General who had employed him, that his efforts had been defeated

by the conduct of the subordinate officials in the American army on the frontier.

Towards the middle of August, Governor Mactavish left the settlement for St. Paul, to meet Governor Dallas at that place on his way back from Canada, and return to Red River thence along with him. On their way home, between St. Paul and the settlement, they encountered Senator Ramsay of Minnesota, who had come with a large military escort to Red Lake River in the neighbourhood of Pembina, with the object of making a treaty with the Chippeways for the extinction of their titles to the land on the borders of Red River within American territory. It will be remembered that, about a year previously, the commissioner then appointed to meet these Indians at the same place was detained by the Sioux outbreak, and the Indians who had assembled to meet him plundered the Hudson's Bay Company's carts on their way from Georgetown to the settlement. Senator Ramsay, protected by his escort, was more successful in executing his mission. He had to deal with about 2000 Indians concerned in the purchase he was negotiating; but he finally completed the bargain, though it was reported at a cost of about ten millions of dollars, inclusive of all expenses of the commission and escort.

Mr. Ramsay, on hearing certain representations made by Governor Dallas on this occasion, promised his assistance, and some months afterwards succeeded in introducing, through his influence at Washington, a change in the postal arrangements between St. Paul and Pembina, of high importance to the reading community in Red River Settlement. Previous to that time the mails for the settlement had been forwarded from St. Paul to Pembina in "way bags," the entire contents of which were examined at every prairie farm house on the route which served as a local post office. At the majority of these places there lived reading men whose enlightened curiosity led them naturally to inspect the English, Canadian, and American newspapers passing through their hands. An Illustrated London News, a Punch, or other pictorial sheet, offered irresistible attractions to lovers of art, while a well-written editorial commended itself very forcibly to the attention of the Backwoods politician. The "postmaster's privilege" of inspection was much



abused, and a newspaper temporarily abstracted from the bag at each second or third station, effected a serious modification in the size of the mail when it reached its journey's end. Such proceedings led to considerable delay in the receipt of interesting mail matter, and in many cases to its actual loss, the papers detained being mislaid and never forwarded at all. Even letters were believed to have been lost, though it must be asserted that, on the whole, these have been delivered throughout with wonderful regularity, when the ordeal through which they have passed is considered. The military authorities at Fort Abercrombie had already made such representations as had secured them the use of a "through bag," unopened between St. Paul and their own office. Senator Ramsay's interference obtained a similar benefit for the people of Red River, whose mails, it was arranged early in 1864, should pass between St. Paul and the frontier post of Pembina in "through bags." The result has been a great improvement as regards the efficiency of the mail service.

Along with Governors Dallas and Mactavish, there arrived at Fort Garry an English gentleman of middle age whose adventures during the preceding fifteen or twenty years had been of a very remarkable and interesting character. Edward Shelley, Esq., was a nephew of the celebrated author of "Queen Mab." In the course of his wanderings over the more remote regions of the globe, he had undergone the greatest hardships and been present at some of the most remarkable events in the history of the times. As captain in the British army and brevet colonel he had served in the Crimean campaign, and been present at the charge of Balaklava. Though retired from the service he had been present at the taking of Pekin by the British in the war of 1860. He had been concerned in a war in Albania, and had travelled over African deserts and Mexican and South American savannas. The winter of 1862 he had spent among the Indians on the Missouri, and passed unscathed through scenes of bloodshed in which the Sioux had massacred the Americans in the gold country of Idaho.

Mr. Shelley, it will readily be believed, proved a very welcome visitor at Fort Garry. He was by no means averse to enlighten those anxious to listen to the interesting narrative of his adven-

tures and travels. So curious were these in many respects that he who had passed through them alone could do them justice. He quitted Fort Garry, much to the regret of the occupants of "Bachelor's Hall" on 3rd of December, after a residence of about two months, and proceeded westward to Fort Ellice, where he passed the remainder of the winter. Towards spring he had a very narrow escape from the effects of the explosion of a keg of gunpowder, which through some accident had been ignited and blew down the store on the threshold of which he stood in the act of making his exit at the moment of the accident. Proceeding leisurely through the Saskatchewan Valley, Mr. Shelley crossed the Rocky Mountains, and returned to England during the winter of 1864.

Of this gentleman I think I ought to remark that the regret felt at Fort Garry on his departure was shared by those at other posts at which he sojourned, and certain acts of great kindness and consideration in which he indulged will no doubt be deservedly long remembered to his credit in the Territory.

## CHAPTER XXII.

1863-64.

Commencement of the Village of Winnipeg—Land tenure at Red River—Mr. Sandford Fleming, C.E.—Projected route to Lake Superior—United States garrison at Pembina—Crops—Sioux visits—Sioux camp established at Red River—Major Hatch—His request to pursue the Sioux on British Territory—Sioux perplexities—Captain Donaldson's Volunteer Company—Deserters across the Lines—Withdrawal of the Pembina garrison.

IN the summer of 1862 the first attempt was made to establish a place of business on the highway at the spot where the Assiniboine and Red River tracks meet close to the boundary of the Hudson's Bay Company's land reserve. The disadvantages of the site had till then deterred the most enterprising settler from fixing his home in the locality. These were the serious distance intervening between it and the river whence the sole water supply was derived, and the low level of the ground, which caused the water to collect in spring after the snow had melted, turning the whole neighbourhood into a swamp. The compensating advantage of the spot lay in its central situation at the intersection of the great highway of the grain country on the Red River and that of the Fur regions to the west, leading along the Assiniboine.

The enterprising firm which first resolved practically to test the scheme was that of McKenney and Company. They abandoned their hotel business and built a store at the junction of the roads above specified. The house was a long two-storey wooden building, the ground flat of which was lighted by two large windows which with the door, occupied one end, while the sides were windowed only in the upper storey which was used as a dwelling house. The portions of the building, with its steep roof and side windows aloft, rendered it singularly like a "Noah's Ark," without the boat which usually accompanies the perfect toy. That it would

be absolutely necessary to complete the resemblance in spring was the firm idea of almost the whole population, who said Mr. McKenney's cellars would be filled with water and himself drowned out of his own house. The spring, nevertheless, passed, and the structure escaped all damage from water amounting to anything more serious than inconvenience.

The house was erected in a perfectly isolated spot, and the hurricanes which sometimes blow across the plains, it was then imagined would beat against the broad sides of the slightly-built edifice with such force as would reduce it to its native timbers. But although the house had sometimes to be supported by huge beams propped against it in considerable numbers from the outside, and was believed by its inmates to be by no means a safe abode on a stormy night, the wind proved as powerless to overwhelm as the waters to sap the experimental venture.

The practicability of the scheme once established, it became evident that Mr. McKenney's example would speedily be followed by others. One of the most successful private merchants in the settlement, Mr. William Drever, announced his intention of building on that portion of his land immediately adjacent to Mr. McKenney's store, and said he had fully intended to precede his neighbour in commencing such operations at the locality in question, but unfortunately a disappointment to which he had been subjected in his attempts to procure wood and other building materials, had thrown him behind a year or two. In the summer of 1863, accordingly, Mr. Drever commenced the erection of a dwelling house. He complained, however, that the store of McKenney and Company had been built so very close to his boundary line on their side, that the eavesdroppings of their Noah's Ark-shaped store fell upon his land, and would damage any house he might build close to the edge of his property, besides seriously interfering with his window lights.

This assertion opened up the whole wide question of land tenure in the settlement, and as the ground about the spot had increased in value from the original price of 7s. 6d. per acre, to one of £25 sterling per square chain, and several small log cabins, in which thriving business of various kinds was carried on, had

grown up during the season close to the scene of the misunderstanding, the embryo village, towards the close of 1863, threatened to become the focus of the land question. Apart from the fact that the terms of the land deeds under which ground was held were regarded with great dissatisfaction by the settlers in consequence chiefly of their conditions, which strictly stipulated that the holders should not interfere with the Fur Trade, a vast amount of confusion had long prevailed in the whole land business of the colony.

The ground had been originally sold by the Company to the settlers under a lease for 999 years, and on receipt of the price agreed on, the Company granted a deed of which the above was a leading stipulation, and entered the name of the purchaser in the Land Book kept in the office at Fort Garry. Such a registration, even without production of the deed, was recognized as a valid legal title. Many years ago the colony was surveyed and mapped by a resident professional surveyor, but for a long time subsequently the land business was treated merely as a branch of the ordinary office routine at Fort Garry, transacted by a clerk, who, when any emergency rose, requiring a line to be drawn or boundary settled, employed a surveyor to visit the spot and perform the service. Meanwhile floods and other disturbing causes had obliterated landmarks, original possessors had died and divided their lots among their children who, having entered into actual possession without effecting any fresh registration, had in many cases sold their shares to other parties without advising the registrar of the transactions. Squatters had built on ground without either asking or paying the Company for the land so appropriated, and when, from time to time the agents of the latter had made some feeble attempt to collect portions of a sum due them on this account, which in the aggregate might amount to about £10,000 sterling, the debtors had used language expressive of strong indignation, and claimed the rights of "British subjects" to settle on whose lands they chose.

This state of things had continued so long that the time to arrest the evils thereon attendant had gone past. The result was that a large section of the people had cultivated for years land for

which they had never paid; that houses had been built on ground which strict inquiry into boundaries might demonstrate to belong to neighbours of the builders; that the legalized registrar showed only a partial record of the numerous transactions in land which had taken place in the settlement; and that a general feeling of insecurity as to title had spread among owners of land in the colony. This was bad enough when the ground itself bore but a nominal value and the building and improvements represented the only valuable interests at stake, but when the price of land situated in any spot began to oscillate between the sums of £25 and £40 sterling per square chain, purchasers demanded an indisputable title, and old proprietors inquired anxiously about their boundaries.

In addition to the large dwelling house erected by Mr. Drever in 1863, that gentleman in the course of the same year built a shop, the site for which he selected on a spot somewhat to the rear of the former. The pretence under which he determined on this site, was his anxiety to show an example of regularity in the lines of street architecture which was very much required by his humbler neighbours, whose little houses were scattered over the neighbourhood without any regard to order. One obvious result of his plan, however, was to cut off the view of Fort Garry which Mr. McKenney had formerly enjoyed from his front windows, and which he was said to have valued almost as much as his own flag staff, which, erected in front of his establishment, was decorated every Sunday with its pennant, as regularly as was the one in the Fort with the Hudson's Bay flag.

This fresh cause of war brought the parties to an open rupture, and Mr. McKenney sought protection from the law. Mr. Drever's lot was the only one which intervened between his property and the land reserve of the Company surrounding Fort Garry. While Mr. Drever's store was in process of completion an application was made to the road authorities for a prohibition against its erection, on the ground that it interfered with the public highway. The point was a nice one. Mr. McKenney claimed that the junction of the Red River and Assiniboine tracks was by right at his door, and that the latter road intervened between his house and that of Mr. Drever's over the ground claimed by the latter gentleman;

while Mr. Drever alleged that said junction ought to take place considerably nearer Fort Garry, at such a spot as would bring it close to the front door of his own house, and shift the space occupied by the Assiniboine road from his land to the Company's reserve. Both parties grew very warm on the subject. Mr. Drever complained that his neighbours, "desiring his destruction, had banded themselves to crush him," and Mr. McKenney asserted that his business opponents were trying to "choke him off," and injure his site.

Towards the autumn of 1863 the building which had given rise to so much discussion was finished and occupied by a tenant, who forthwith filled it with his wares and commenced driving an active sale at Mr. McKenney's threshold, while the view of the latter, in the direction of the Fort, was limited to the logs composing the side-wall of the opposition establishment. Application having been made to the authorities, a commission was issued to inquire into the whole circumstances and report on the expediency of compliance with the demand of McKenney and Company, that Mr. Drever should be ordered to remove the obstruction he had persisted in erecting on the highway, or, in other words, take down the house he had just finished building. The commission continued its deliberations for several months, but in the course of the ensuing spring ultimately decided that a track should be held to pass as Mr. McKenney desired, between his house and the store of Mr. Drever, which, although within a distance of two chains from Mr. McKenney's, should not, however, be required to be removed. I may mention that the evidence brought before the commission was very conflicting. It was evident that the track, on which Mr. Drever was accused of having trespassed, had shifted much from year to year throughout its entire length; that no definite landmark existed to guide any one in ascertaining its exact point of junction with the other; and that the traffic passing over it had, previously to that time, followed merely the driest route, which varied according to the comparative wetness or drought of the season.

Much public attention had been drawn in the settlement during 1863 to a variety of projects discussed in the outside world as relating to its benefit. The "Nor' Wester" had early in spring

published an account of a "public meeting," which, it alleged, had been held, and had unanimously appointed Mr. Sandford Fleming, a Canadian civil engineer, as representative of the popular feeling, with a view personally to lay the same before the Secretary of the Colonies. The principal editor of the newspaper referred to was the leading mover in the meeting, and his colleague, Mr. Coldwell, was secretary. Apart from these gentlemen I have been unable to ascertain who attended the meeting, and conclude, from all I have gathered, that the total number who knew of its deliberations previous to their publication, did not amount to twenty individuals. What steps Mr. Fleming, who visited England on Canadian affairs of great importance some time after, took in this matter I do not know; but, judging from the facts already mentioned, added to that of his never having personally visited the settlement, I imagine the opportunity of usefulness put within his reach was very trifling, and his representations likely to have but little weight in the quarter before which it was his mission to lay them.

A project had also been agitated, preparatory to the formation of a direct route to Canada through British territory, of constructing a road from the American Lake Port of Superior, to Crowwing, near the centre of Minnesota, and thence to some convenient spot on the Red River, between which and the settlement the steamer already stationed on the latter stream might ply. The grand advantage to be obtained through this object lay in the possibility of bringing freight from England to Superior City, at the western extremity of the great lake of the same name, without "breaking bulk." From Superior, by Crowwing, to the Red River, the distance to be effected by land carriage would not be great, while the steamer on Red River would complete the work. Like many other good plans, this was found to be at least premature.

After protracted deliberation the Minnesota military authorities, late in the season, decided on forming a frontier garrison at Pembina, and sent a body of troops, under command of Major Hatch, to the spot. The force was one of cavalry, and arrived so late at its destination that about 400 of its 500 horses died from exposure to the frost. As no barrack accommodation existed the first object the Major was to erect log buildings for the reception of his



troops. This, after the most strenuous and indefatigable exertions had been used, he succeeded in doing after winter had commenced. His next undertaking was to provide food for his people and provender for his horses, which, not being plentiful at Pembina, he turned to seek in the settlement.

The Red River crops of the autumn of 1863 had not been of more than average productiveness. The extreme drought of the season, which had occasioned results so disastrous to the river freight transport, had severely injured the harvest. The wheat crop was generally rather above average, while that of potatoes was a decided failure, and, as regarded all other produce, the farmers had much to complain of. Early in winter flour cost from twenty-seven to thirty shillings per hundred pounds, and Major Hatch had to purchase grain for his surviving animals at twelve shillings per bushel. On the whole the amount of money disbursed by that officer at Pembina and in the settlement, for the purchase of supplies, was very large.

His presence scattered the Sioux away from the neighbourhood of Pembina. Some of them retired towards the west, while others sought safety in the British possessions. On the 20th November a small party, consisting of twelve of these Indians, with their families, arrived in the settlement. They expressed their surprise that a large body of their people which had preceded them had not arrived. Their statement, of course, created some uneasiness in the colony, which was not tranquillized by the appearance, on 11th December, of their friends numbering sixty lodges containing nearly five hundred Sioux in a state of absolute starvation.

Our new visitors had in very many cases been deeply implicated in the border massacres, and, as ill disposed Indians, at war with the Americans, and likely to prove the occasion of bloodshed with our own Saulteaux, they were in every respect most unwelcome. In their first interviews with the authorities, they frankly stated they had come to live and die in Red River Settlement, where it was better for them to attempt to gain a livelihood from the charity of the whites, than to perish in the snow drifts of the prairies.

Apart from the additional burden thus imposed upon them, the

resources of the settlement, impoverished at first by the mediocrity of the harvest, had been found barely equal to the demand made upon them by Major Hatch, as was evinced by the high prices at which alone that officer could procure supplies. The autumn Buffalo hunt had turned out a partial failure. These considerations caused the project to be openly discussed of driving away the Sioux by force. This was undoubtedly practicable. The unfortunate blood-stained tribe had no guns, ammunition or means of defence, save their manifest helplessness, which would expose the settlers to the alternative of murdering them in cold blood, or allowing them to freeze in the wretched lodges they had constructed to shelter them from immediate contact with the winter blasts.

The spot they had selected as the site of their camp was at Sturgeon Creek near the track which runs along the Assiniboine, about six miles from Fort Garry. The people living near that place may be said to have dwelt in a state of siege during the whole period of their residence. Windows and doors were kept perpetually closed, under pain of being entered by some watchful Indian, ever on the alert to take advantage of any such opening which might present itself. The amount of assistance bestowed by the people on the spot was considerable, and highly creditable to the donors, who knew that everything given as a present to the Sioux was grudgingly and enviously remarked by the Saulteaux regular occupants of the settlement, who jealously regarded all such gifts as their own peculiar perquisites.

The Sioux camp had gradually increased in numbers towards the close of the year to about six hundred, through the continual arrivals of small parties. Words can scarcely convey to such as have themselves seen nothing of the kind, any adequate idea of the extremity of destitution to which these people were reduced. It was seen in the gaunt skeleton look of the men who came with hoarse voices to implore aid at Fort Garry, and in the hopeless wolfish glance of their eyes. One afternoon Governor Dallas paid a visit to the camp, taking with him what articles of covering, such as old carpets, blankets, and cast-off clothing he could lay hands on, for distribution. The rush made by the shivering, man-forsaken wanderers, in hope of securing a portion of the Governor's

cargo, was described as tremendous, and it was with difficulty they could be prevented from laying violent hands on his cutter and helping themselves. Most of them were indeed almost naked.

The project of driving them away by force was not for a day entertained by men in office. The act would have been tantamount to murder. They were without clothing and the thermometer was ranging between 20 and 40 degrees below zero. They were without guns or ammunition, and had no food. They had not even the necessary wire to enable them to snare a rabbit. Usually as much averse to part with their children to be educated by the whites, as the latter would be to abandon their offspring to them, they then sold their children gladly to any who would give them food in exchange. Three young white children, whose parents had been massacred, were taken from them and cared for by private settlers. The Grey Nuns of the little convent of St. François Xavier took advantage of the presence of a party near their residence, about twenty one miles from Fort Garry, to purchase a boy and three girls from them as an equivalent for 120 pounds pemmican, and would have bought still more had they possessed the means to buy and take care of them.

After being assured of a large supply of pemmican, the Sioux promised Governor Dallas to leave the settlement, and actually quitted their camp on the 25th December. They did not, however, proceed further than the outpost of White Horse Plain, twenty-five miles up the Assiniboine from Fort Garry. There they halted and demanded ammunition, which was peremptorily refused, though not without a strong misgiving that they would help themselves. This they did not attempt and some more provisions were distributed among them through the agency of private parties, so employed that the Indians might not know they were indebted for them to the Government which, had they known, it might have encouraged them to increase their demands.

To the great dissatisfaction of the Saulteaux they then spread themselves in bands over the country. A large number of them went to Lake Manitoba and were extremely successful in catching jackfish under the ice. Others returned to Sturgeon Creek and settled down at various spots along the River Assiniboine. They

were a good deal above prices which had been made them by the Council at the close of the American war and unmet expectations on that point. The people of the settlement could not however forget that many of their soldiers had been wantonly killed by the Sioux when engaged in their travels on the Plains, *during a year not less than a long time in the course of which they had not been guilty of some outrage.* The provisions supplied them in the period *would* were estimated at a total value varying from \$500 to \$600.

Early in January 1862 an event occurred which gave a decided impulse to their withdrawal from the settlement. Some officers *connected with* Major Hatch's battalion had visited the city and given some of the residents views on their interests to such an extent that they *consequently* entered into a scheme for kidnaping one of the principal chiefs, "Little Six," a half brother of "Little Crow," and one of his followers named "Medicine Bottle," were selected as the men to be caught. These Indians having been *purposely* permitted to drink more alcohol than was good for them were drugged with laudanum and chloroform, and while in a state of insensibility were conveyed to Pembina where their surprise and consternation were great when, on waking from their lethargy, they found themselves securely bound and surrounded by a group of soldiers under command of Major Hatch. This incident was commented on somewhat severely by some newspapers in the United States, which amused themselves by trying to magnify it into another "Trent affair." It also excited great dissatisfaction among people in the settlement, who feared retaliation on the part of the Sioux against the English in crossing the Plains during summer.

During January Lieutenant Mix, an officer serving under Major Hatch, visited the settlement with the object of securing the Governor's good offices in inducing the Sioux to surrender on equitable terms. The lieutenant was informed that the Indians had been already sent off furnished with provisions, and returned to Pembina before the news arrived that they had halted at White Horse Plain. On receipt of this intelligence the Council at Red River communicated with Major Hatch, explaining the misunder-

standing under which Lieutenant Mix had left the settlement, and advising the former that, should he still desire to speak with the Sioux, there was no objection to his doing so, provided what overtures he had to make should be of a persuasive nature only, and that he should be accompanied by a body guard sufficiently large, not only to protect his person, but to preclude all idea of a successful attack on the part of the Indians or a disturbance of the peace of the colony.

Despairing of the voluntary departure of the Sioux, and fearing the violence of Crees, Saulteaux and Chippeways, in the event of the former persevering during the summer in occupying their territory, the settlers anxiously recommended that Major Hatch should be invited to cross the line and take the Sioux prisoners. That they were perfectly demoralized had been proved at an early stage of their visit by the terror and confusion into which their camp had been thrown on a rumour gaining ground that the Americans were at hand, and a similar alarm had frequently caused small bodies of them to beat a sudden retreat from the more thickly settled part of the colony.

Major Hatch, knowing the state of public feeling, advised Governor Dallas that, should the latter authorize him to cross the border, he was willing to march his troops to capture the Sioux. The Governor granted permission, in justification of which step he advanced several obvious reasons, and stipulated that the Major should bring with him a force sufficient to effect his purpose, and that all bloodshed and violence should be avoided in the houses or enclosures of the settlers where the Indians might seek an asylum.

During the spring the main body of the Sioux on the Missouri, numbering about 5,000 individuals, sent a message to the Governor asking his advice with regard to their subsequent conduct towards the Americans, whose overtures for peace they believed to be designed to entrap them. Matters were certainly beginning to look very serious, and the possibility of the whole nation seeking a permanent asylum on British territory seemed gradually developing itself into a probability. The St. Paul newspapers accused the settlers of "listening calmly to the recital of the

Indian massacres, and then turning on their heels and laughing at the impotent indignation of the Americans, and boasting that the murderers were under the British flag, adding that the Americans would not shed many tears if the Indians got hungry and desperate enough to clean out the British settlements." Our own Indians, of whom, fortunately, comparatively few were in the settlement, jealously threatened to begin fighting the Sioux in spring, and Major Hatch, after receiving permission to cross the frontier, gave up the idea, or at least took no steps to carry it out. Governor Dallas returned a reply to the Indians on the Missouri, advising them to conclude a speedy peace with the Americans, or be prepared for a vigorous pursuit of the war on the part of the latter in spring.

Previous to the month of May only one serious collision had taken place between the Sioux and their Indian opponents, in which one of the former had been murdered in cold blood by a Saulteaux. Early in that month, however, the party which had gone to pass the winter in fishing under the ice in Lake Manitoba were awakened one night by the discharge of firearms. They found themselves surrounded by a party of the Chippeways, who continued firing into their lodges until break of day, killing six of the Sioux outright, and so seriously wounding a number of others that fourteen more died subsequently. The Sioux being unable to retaliate effectually, only one of the attacking party fell a victim to a stray shot, and at sunrise the rest disappeared. The surviving Sioux took immediate precautions against such another surprise, and by digging pits contrived to construct a camp which they would always be able to defend.

The lesson was not lost on the Sioux, and those who were hovering in small bands scattered up and down the colony, realized they were in an enemy's country. Towards spring a number of those who had not been in the settlement previously, began to arrive at the Company's outposts with the object of trading the furs they had hunted during winter, in exchange for which they demanded ammunition. On this being refused they held rather high language, but ultimately, after creating some alarm and quarrelling among each other, they withdrew. The vast bulk of

those who had wintered in the settlement finally made a peaceful exit along with the summer Plain hunters. During their entire sojourn the utmost evil imputed to them consisted of a few acts of petty larceny. They had lived for a long time in the winter on any sort of carrion they could pick up, and had seen their companions die from starvation daily around them. Yet they had made no combined attempt to rob any one, though the nature of the localities in which the majority of outlying houses in the settlement are placed, offered many opportunities to rob with impunity, at least so far as individual punishment was concerned.

At a meeting of the Council of Assiniboia, held after their departure in May, it was contended that the local Government had a claim for several hundred pounds spent in feeding them, at the hands of the English or American Government. Of the former, because it had given express instructions that the ammunition, which would have enabled the Indians to hunt, should be entirely withheld; and of the latter because it was in consequence of quarrels originating with the corrupt practices of its agents that the Indians had left their territories at all. However plausible the grounds on which restitution was desired, it never was granted.

In addition to the "Independent Battalion" of Major Hatch, a local force had been raised at Pembina by an American citizen named Donaldson, who had been invested with its command along with the rank of captain. This company included a number of half-breeds and others who had been recruited from the British side of the line, but as the object of the corps was to operate against the Sioux, even British pensioners at Red River were permitted to enter its ranks and take service under the Government of the United States without any prejudice to their pensions from the British War Office. The proximity of the British frontier encouraged several of the discontented soldiers in the garrison at Pembina to desert, in the hope of escaping with impunity. They were always pursued and captured when practicable. One half-breed, of Captain Donaldson's company, deserted immediately after enlistment, taking with him the complete equipment in which he had just been arrayed. He was captured after he had

and several miles of British territory points between himself and the headquarters of the army of which he was a fighting member. His supplies were supposed to have stopped him at his camp, a few days when the thermometer was several degrees below zero, rather above the ice and the flocks of geese were scarce. Other cases of exposure made under similar circumstances occurred in at least one of which the victim could be laid out off with his arms stretched in a sort of attitude of prayer.

In May the garrison was withdrawn from Peakina and quartered at Fort Assiniboine. The expense of the winter expedition had been very great and the results disappointingly small. Its withdrawal at the commencement of summer left the whole country about Peakina and the route to Grand Rapids open to the ravages of the Sioux. Fortunately the result proved they were in no condition to take advantage of the opportunity thus given them for war.

The abandonment by Major Hatch of the project to seize the Sioux in the settlement was attributed to the tenor of his instructions which prevented him from putting men under his command in the position of trespassers on British soil. It was a great pity that the designs of justice should have been defeated on account of an international boundary at such a place as Red River. The Sioux who came to the settlement were understood to be the worst Indians of their tribe. In the absence of direct evidence of murder against any of them, people accustomed to the symbolical decorations of the savage knew that each of the numerous feathers adorning the dress of their braves, represented a deed of blood. The local government harboured them chiefly because it had no force effectually to oppose them. Motives both of humanity and interest undoubtedly swayed the people in the reception which had been accorded the fugitives; but the vacancies produced in families among the hunters by Sioux bullets were not forgotten, and fears were moreover entertained that the guests were profiting by their long stay in examining the physical feature of the settlement and its environs with a view to future hostilities.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

1864.

The "Nor' Wester"—Masonic Lodge—Politics at the Prairie Portage—Departure of Governor Dallas and Bishop Anderson—Dr. Rae's Expedition across the Continent—Mr. Lemay, the United States Custom House Official at Pembina; His troubles and Letter to the "Nor' Wester."

EARLY in March, 1864, an important change took place in the management of the "Nor' Wester." Mr. James Ross retired from the editorship, and was succeeded by Doctor John Schultz, the junior proprietor, Mr. Coldwell still remaining as working partner. Ever since the autumn of 1862, when the opposing petitions had commenced the series of agitations which led to the dismissal of Mr. Ross from the offices of sheriff and postmaster, the "Nor' Wester" had violently assailed the existing order of things, and the long succession of leading articles, in which editorial indignation took wing, probably rather favoured the circulation.

Messrs. Coldwell and Schultz, in coming before the public as joint editors, issued the following notice, the humour of which will be doubtless appreciated at its true value, when it is remembered that one of the many channels through which the energy of the new editor found an outlet was the practice of medicine:

"In making this announcement we need hardly assure our readers that the theory of the circulation will be attended to in future, and all bad humours will be eliminated from our columns. Diseases in our social system will be vigorously attended, and our best exertions used to keep the body politic in sound health and good working order. Persons in low spirits and of a desponding turn of mind will only have to read the "Nor' Wester" to be cured in an instant. Patients will be waited on (by our Devil) at their

put several miles of British territorial plains between himself and the head-quarters of the troop of which he was a fugitive member. His captors were reported to have stripped him to his shirt, a process which, as the thermometer was several degrees below zero, rather cooled the ardour of the fugacious pemmican eater. Other cases of captures made under similar circumstances occurred, in at least one of which the victim stated he had run off with his accoutrements on account of arrears of pay.

In May the garrison was withdrawn from Pembina and quartered at Fort Abercrombie. The expense of the winter expedition had been very great and its results inappreciably small. Its withdrawal at the commencement of summer laid the whole country about Pembina and the route to Georgetown open to the ravages of the Sioux. Fortunately the result proved they were in no condition to take advantage of the opportunity thus given them for evil.

The abandonment by Major Hatch of the project to seize the Sioux in the settlement, was attributed to the tenor of his instructions which prevented him from putting men under his command in the position of trespassers on British soil. It was a great pity that the designs of justice should have been defeated on account of an international boundary at such a place as Red River. The Sioux who came to the settlement were understood to be the worst Indians of their tribe. In the absence of direct evidence of murder against any of them, people accustomed to the symbolical decorations of the savage knew that each of the numerous feathers adorning the dress of their braves, represented a deed of blood. The local government harboured them chiefly because it had no force effectually to oppose them. Motives both of humanity and interest undoubtedly swayed the people in the reception which had been accorded the fugitives; but the vacancies produced in families among the hunters by Sioux bullets were not forgotten, and fears were moreover entertained that the guests were profiting by their long stay in examining the physical feature of the settlement and its environs with a view to future hostilities.

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own residences, with a copy of the paper, if they will only bleed to the extent of fourpence for each number, or they will be compounded with and kept in good spirits for the whole year at the rate of ten shillings per annum."

As the new editor was, at the commencement of his career, a supporter of Government, such puny efforts as the one just quoted were the only attempts made to vary the monotony of ordinary scribbling, and it was abundantly evident the Journal languished under its compulsory deprivation of the only instrument, the mastery of which was possessed by its conductors, that of vigorously virulent invective.

While the United States garrison was yet at Pembina it got rumoured that a new excitement was pervading the settlement. Several of the officers of Major Hatch's battalion were connected with the order of Freemasons, and it was probably during their frequent visits to the colony that they succeeded in exciting in the minds of several of the settlers the desire to enter the brotherhood of the mystic tie. Early in March a party from the settlement proceeded to Pembina, with the view of being admitted at the Lodge instituted at that place. Having taken the requisite degrees to qualify them for opening a lodge of their own, they returned home, looking very much solemnized and very wise. Though laudable efforts were made to extract information relative to ceremonies of initiation and other particulars, the most inviolable secrecy was maintained, not a little to the surprise of friends who knew the weak points of some of the novices; such of whom as spoke on the subject of their proceedings at all limited themselves to the general assurance, "they had been very much pleased," or, "it was more impressive than any religious ceremony they had ever witnessed."

The necessary dispensation having been obtained from the Grand Lodge of Minnesota, the Red River Masons were incorporated under the name of the "Northern Light Lodge." Dr. Schultz added to his other claims on the regard of the public that of being "Worshipful Master" of the new association, and the "Nor' Wester" applauded the rising scheme. "It has its secrets," remarked our local organ, "the secrets of ages, and what others have been so wel.

kept? Pretended revelations have been made by those who knew that the public was always eager to find out a secret, and would be willing to pay well to satisfy its curiosity. But they knew little, for the working of the order is as much a mystery to outsiders now as it was in that far past from whence it dates its origin."

The only section of residents in the settlement which condemned the new project was the Roman Catholic priesthood, from some members of which I was amused to hear a variety of statements, bearing on the association and its objects, which were diverting though quite incredible. As the authorities given for facts were merely anonymous publications by people who represented themselves as being too much alarmed at the prospective vengeance of the brotherhood to divulge their names, I shall not here enlarge on details. From the Worshipful Master, however, I was favoured with some facts, curious, if true, connected with the order, of which, knowing the interest taken by the public in everything connected with Freemasonry, I beg here to insert a brief analysis.

The name of the brotherhood, I was informed, was calculated to prejudice it in the estimation of outsiders. It ought rather to be described as an association of a very superior order of architects. Indeed, architecture or building had but little to do with it, or it with them, for that matter; for, although it was necessary to gain some acquaintance with the rudiments of architecture before certain moral truths and other details could be rendered intelligible, still, the whole of that part of the subject was symbolical. Of the two justly celebrated historical characters, St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, that one had been a mason was certain, and that the other had been so also was highly probable, if not absolutely true. In their days the masons were called the Essenes, and it was to be borne in mind that, although Christ had frequently and severely condemned both Pharisees and Saducees, of this third great section of the Jews he had never made any mention at all.

The foregoing were certainly the most striking facts relative to masonry which had ever been brought under my consideration. To say nothing of the former part of the communication, that relating to the Essenes started a view of the character of that rather obscure sect, the justice of which has been considered doubtful by such as

have access only to sources of information non-masonic, and which, if I may rely on what I have myself seen and heard, is not currently known out of doors.

As the spring had advanced considerably before the preliminaries for the institution of a lodge could be completed, the masons resolved to make no effort until winter, those who had been already admitted being exhorted to pass the intervening time in study and in visiting the lodges at any of the American towns they might have occasion to visit in the transaction of their business.

About the beginning of April a series of disturbances took place in the outlying settlement of Portage La Prairie, which led to the drawing up of a numerously signed petition of the inhabitants, praying that they should be included within the limits of the municipal district of Assiniboia. In answering this document the council stated that, without military support, it was hopeless for it to attempt an extension of its jurisdiction, and requested Governor Dallas to represent in the proper quarter, on the occasion of his approaching visit to England, the misfortune to which the colony had for years been a prey. The cause which had originated the fresh disturbance had its ludicrous side, and the narrative which appeared in the "Nor' Wester," embodying the principal details, was headed "Rich Scene in a Court of Justice." It appeared that, under the auspices of Archdeacon Cochran, an attempt had been made in December, 1863, to create municipal institutions. Magistrates and councillors had been elected, and a court of justice, modelled in imitation of the general quarterly court of Assiniboia, with its president, associate judges, and clerk, had been instituted. The term of office was to be one year. Trial by jury, as the birth-right of every British subject, was established, and all judges and other functionaries were duly elected by the sovereign people.

Faction, from the beginning of these proceedings, ran as high at the Prairie Portage as it does during the course of a general election any where else, and it required all the personal influence of Archdeacon Cochran to counteract those efforts, subversive of the peace, which were put forth by voters unaccustomed to the working of Free institutions. At the very first sitting of the new court of justice the seeds of discord were sown, and at its

second meeting, in the following April, the "rich scene" occurred and the sanctity of the local magisterial bench was violated by an explosion of a very reprehensible character on the part of the revered occupant.

The mischief was commenced by one of the associate judges who, being displeased with the finding of the jury in a case before the tribunal, charged the gentlemen of the jury with having perjured themselves. This allegation was not passed unnoticed by the parties libelled, but the proceedings of the court do not seem to have been entirely interrupted until the commencement of the next case upon the roll, in which the president of the court had been summoned as a witness. This official having quitted, the bench during the hearing of the cause in which he was concerned, his place was taken by the associate who had previously attacked the jury. As this person was commencing his charge he was interrupted by the "agent for the defence," on what ground the report furnished the "Nor' Wester" did not state. The audience outside the bar interfered in favour of the judge and insisted that his honour should be permitted to proceed. Thereupon a scene of wild confusion was said to have supervened, in the course of which, by some summary method unknown, I should imagine, to the law, the presiding magistrate was driven both from the bench and from his seat in the local council. On the ensuing day the voting for a new magistrate and councillor commenced.

The above is the substance of the account given in the "Nor' Wester" of the scene in court. Its absolute correctness was, however, impeached by the magistrate implicated, who availed himself of the opportunity afforded by an early issue to state the case according to his own views. His communication was headed "A Challenge," and opens by casting an imputation on the article above referred to as being "palpably absurd, and in its consequences damaging to my reputation." He demands an opportunity to rebuff and cancel, if possible, the effect produced to his prejudice, and does and can most solemnly rebuff before any tribunal whatsoever the allegation that he had roundly charged the jury with having perjured themselves because they had brought in a certain verdict. When the rich scene commenced, he asserted

he was sitting quietly, "being aware of the sacredness of my function as J.P., by the side of the chairman of the sessions, neither giving, or getting any charge whatsoever." As to his having been stopped by the "pro-attorney" for the defence, that was at the previous court, 6th January, and not exactly stopped, so to speak, though certainly much annoyed by his boisterous conduct, who, while I was charging the jury, rose from his seat vociferating a very strange incidence which he said had escaped his memory while charging the jury. He admitted, however, the accuracy, under certain limitations, of the statement that he had been driven from the bench, a person named Jefferson having given orders to have it so done, but either from a degree of respect or cowardice, Jefferson's orders were not attended to, and what was more remarkable, he did not wait to see them executed, but led the way out, followed by the attorney and their party, crying at the top of their voices, "down with him; down with him." The writer concluded his letter by asserting that, if the authorities of Assiniboia were willing to try the case under hearing at the time of the riot, "they are most welcome to accept of my challenge—three hundred pounds sterling to the loser." What the merits of the case were, or on what grounds the sitting magistrate should stake such a sum on its issue before the Red River courts, I do not know; and indeed to comprehend all the bearings of the letter, of which the above is a general sketch, it would be doubtless necessary to know more than I do of the local politics of the Prairie Portage. As already mentioned, the authorities of Assiniboia refused to accede to the request that they should add to their other difficulties that of forming a municipal connection with a district the inhabitants of which were accustomed to an interference such as the above with the course of justice as administered by magistrates elected by themselves.

Some months subsequently there appeared a running commentary on this letter signed by three members of the party opposed to that of the magistrate whose administration we have been investigating. The joint authors of the new communication, while maintaining the correctness of the version first given by the "Nor' Wester," asserted that, "owing to the confused manner in



which it is jumbled up, for which the editor is of course not accountable, it would not be possible for other than an eye-witness to render it intelligible."

They then attacked their opponent in the following strain : "He begins his lofty and ebullient challenge by asserting his readiness to rebuff solemnly, before heaven and earth, (which we take to be the meaning of "before any tribunal whatsoever,") the allegation of his having charged the jury with perjury. He speaks of a little incidence which took place in the court of La Prairie on the 8th January, which is perfectly correct, and which he agonizes to make appear as a great and serious matter. But why does he omit to state that it was the same court that he and the chairman failed to recognize the verdict of the jury by withholding the decision of the bench? Why? because he knew that that was the sore and tender part both with the jury and a vast majority of the public. We are not ready to affirm with J. G., before any tribunal whatsoever, that he directly charged the jury with perjury, but that he did indirectly in different ways and at different times and places, we do firmly and solemnly avow. On the 6th April, when a decision from the bench on the verdict of the jury of the previous court had been finally extorted, he, Mr. J. G., assumed the twofold function of pleader and judge! and in that twofold and novel capacity he *mirabile dictu!* gravely put the following question to Mr. D. Cusiter, the attorney for the plaintiff, "can you produce evidence to prove that that verdict is not illegal?" And was not that paramount to roundly charging the jury with perjury?

"It was at this precise juncture that one of the jurors, Mr. P. Garrock, foreman," one of the joint authors of the letter from which I now quote, "not able to contain himself at such insulting language, sprang to his feet and said, 'Gentlemen, as a British subject I claim to be heard. We want justice here; there is *no justice*. That gentleman,' alluding to Mr. J. G., 'is not doing justice, he is acting in the twofold capacity of judge and pleader.' In an instant some one from behind, perhaps Jefferson, audibly cried out, 'Out with him!' and with him many others, till the cry became general. Not that he (Mr. J. G.) should be thrown headlong out

of the court, but that he should be discarded as a member of the council.

"If Blackstone be right," continues this Prairie Jurist, "then is the trial by jury one of the main bulwarks of the British constitution; then is the trial by jury, indeed, the surest guardian of the Englishman's liberties; and, alas! then have the liberties of poor La Prairie departed. For first our would-be gifted lawyers assume the grave responsibility of rejecting and counteracting the verdict of twelve empanelled and sworn men—men at least upright and sensible—and then, with the utmost conceivable impudence and audacity, perfidiously endanger our liberties by clandestinely and cringingly petitioning the council of Assiniboia for annexation.

"Had Mr. J. G. duly considered the sacredness of his functions as J.P., when Mr. Cusiter read his protest against any further proceedings of the bench, until the decision from the said bench had recognised the verdict of the jury of the previous court, the supposed necessity for appealing to the bench, the pulpit, and the bar might have been obviated."

This remark can only have reference to the letters in the "Nor' Wester" already referred to, and, probably, some sermon from Archdeacon Cochran, in which allusion was made to the tumults prevailing among his turbulent people. The epistle continued:—

"Mr. J. G. very properly scorns a coward, but why does he assimilate himself to so vile and worthless a character by screening, during controversy, his invidious and detracting epithets under the guise of petitions, names, and false characters?"

"Next comes the astounding conclusion which makes one's very blood to ache, and his bones to palpitate! £300 to the loser! What, to the loser? And what in the name of Jefferson is for the winner? Truly in these hard times one might almost be tempted to take advantage of such easy terms. But no; sterling cash and sterling principle are not synonymous terms with us; we scorn to obtain the former by a compromise of the latter. Too fast! too fast! Mr. J. G. Posthumous bequests are not announced every day in one's life."

This letter, the publication of which was delayed for several weeks after it had been written through the absence of the editor,

called forth a so-called "complete statement," signed by three of the opposite party, friends of the magistrate, Mr. John Garrioch. This fresh effort was published as a "Nor' Wester" "extra" on the first October, 1864, but throws no light perceptible to an outsider on the motive for the stake of £300 proposed by the magistrate. It states, however, that all the councillors and justices of the new commonwealth had been unanimously chosen by the people in December, 1863, on the nomination of the Rev. Thomas Cochran, in presence of the Ven. Archdeacon Cochran; and it was on the first occasion of the sitting of the newly constituted court on the 6th January ensuing, that the disturbances commenced, which ended in the consummation described, at the quarter sessions commencing on 6th April.

On 17th May, 1864, Mr. Dallas, Governor of Rupert's Land, took his final departure from Red River on his return to England. The residence of this gentleman in the settlement as Governor had lasted two years, during one of which, as has been already recounted, very serious difficulties beset his Government. On the announcement by Mr. Dallas, in the Council of Assiniboia, of his approaching retirement, a very laudatory motion was proposed by Judge Black, seconded by the Bishop of St. Boniface, and unanimously carried, referring to the disquieting events which had transpired during Mr. Dallas' sojourn, and complimenting him on the manner in which he had dealt with them. He left under a salute of twenty-one rounds fired from the six-pounder field pieces attached to the Fort, and was accompanied on his way, as far as Pembina, by Mr. Mactavish, Governor of Assiniboia, who subsequently succeeded him as Governor of Rupert's Land.

On the 31st May another departure occurred, which, in the minds of a great many in the settlement, left a blank very decidedly felt and regretted. Doctor Anderson had, as already mentioned in Chapter IX, come to the country as its Bishop in the year 1849, and, during the succeeding fifteen years, had occupied himself in the performance of the duties attaching to his office, which, so far as they concern the settlement, have been touched upon in the chapter specified. Although his lordship regularly attended in his place at the meetings of council, the part he played

as a public man was not such as to bring him much before the public. His name has, therefore, not often been mentioned in the portion of this narrative referring to secular affairs. Personally, in the course of the three years of my residence preceding his departure, I had seen a good deal of the Bishop, whose house was always open, and his time and attention unweariedly at the service of all they could benefit. Had my rule in the matter of respecting private relations and events not been decidedly adhered to, so far as I have yet proceeded, I should frequently have mentioned long winter evenings and days spent at Bishop's Court. The tax laid upon his patience by the multitude of visitors probably reached its maximum during the few days preceding his departure, when, indeed, but little leisure could have fallen to his lot, even had nothing occupied his attention further than receiving the perpetual current of leave-takers arriving from morning till night.

Although it was by no means certain that his lordship would not return to the country, the belief that such was the case was general and strong. The prevailing sentiment of attachment to the Bishop therefore found expression in a series of public addresses to himself, with which, along with his accompanying replies, the columns of the "Nor' Wester" were for some issues crowded. The general tone of these documents apparently gratified the Bishop, whose replies, however, hinted his thoughts that in some of their details they were overdrawn. One instance I may mention of a party of gentlemen who committed themselves to the assertion that, "Nearly all the Indian tribes scattered over this extensive territory enjoy the preaching of the glad tidings of salvation in their own tongue." So far as an intimation is intended to be conveyed in the above expression of the fact that isolated missionaries have, from time to time, preached in most of the great languages spoken by the Indians of British North America, the statement is, I believe, not far from the truth; but, if it should lead any one to believe that the field of labour is fully supplied, besides being ridiculous, it puts those clergymen, whose utmost efforts have failed to come within sight of such a conclusion, in a very unfair light. Even under the most favourable circumstances it will require a vast machinery, yet unprovided, before the result indicated by the expression can be attained.

Hundreds of people had congregated at the Ferry to witness the Bishop's departure. The universal sentiment entertained was truthfully declared by the "Nor' Wester," in the following words: "His Lordship was indeed in its widest sense a man of large humanity, of a benevolence and goodness great and untiring; his hand was ever open as the day to melting charity; in him the poor and needy found ever a faithful, sympathizing friend; nor while administering those spiritual consolations which raised the broken spirit, did he neglect, when occasion demanded, such proper relief to temporal necessity as would be of healthy benefit to the recipient. The patron and friend of all schemes of literary advancement, the dispenser of a generous hospitality, this Christian gentleman has earned with us the guerdon of a good name—better than riches."

Such having been the leave taken by Bishop Anderson of his friends in the colony, it was with regret, though without surprise, that the latter heard in the course of the autumn that his lordship had, on reaching England, taken the necessary steps to retire from his office, and accepted the vicarage of Clifton in the west of England.

During the month of June, Dr. Rae passed through the settlement. This gentleman is known to the public chiefly as a persevering and successful traveller in the Arctic regions. Upon this occasion he was engaged on a journey across the continent with a view to ascertaining the practicability of establishing a line of telegraphic communication through the British territory, the realization of such a project forming one of a number of schemes contemplated by the new stockholders of the Hudson's Bay Company, with the ultimate object of colonizing that portion of their territory, the soil and climate of which admit of cultivation. Dr. Rae was accompanied by Mr. Schwieger, a civil engineer from Canada, of great professional experience. The plan of the expedition, which was afterwards successfully carried out, was that Dr. Rae should proceed the whole way across the continent to Vancouver's Island, returning thence to England by Panama, while Mr. Schwieger should accompany him to Tête Jaune Cache, and return thence to Canada, bringing back with him to Red River the party engaged to take both gentlemen across the Plains.

After about three weeks passed in arranging the necessary preliminaries, the party started for the west. Dr. Rae's local knowledge and personal acquaintance with all the officers at the various posts, ensured the utmost facilities being rendered to the expedition. Mr. Schwieger executed a very complete survey of the route, carrying his detailed observations to such an extent as to count the average number of trees per mile suitable for his purposes on those portions of the line where timber was very scarce. This was the case over a very considerable part of the Plain country.

The reports upon the scheme in question handed to the Company, were of course exhaustive. The general description of the country having been already given in Chapter XVII, on the authority of Lord Milton's and Dr. Cheadle's published observations, I need here state nothing further on that head than has been advanced. Mr. Schwieger, however, in private conversation repeatedly in my hearing expressed his opinion that the serious difficulty of erecting a telegraphic apparatus across country lay in the danger to which it would be exposed from the Indians who, even from a motive of mischief, would surely destroy it. Superstition too, would not be idle, and, in the event of any epidemic spreading among them the savages would certainly believe it the work of the poles and wires. Moreover, they would use the former as firewood and the wire as raw material for the manufacture of arrow heads. A railway, as offering means of concentrating a military force to check these irregularities might be a more hopeful scheme than a telegraph alone, but the enterprise would yet be very premature, and, under any circumstances, the wild tribes of Blackfeet and other warlike Indians inhabiting the Saskatchewan Valley would require to be largely subsidized before any project involving occupation of the country could be contemplated. I believe these are the unanimous sentiments of all officers who have lived in the Indian country.

The summer of 1864 passed very quietly. The Northern Council of that year had been held at Fort Garry early in May, to meet the wishes of the president, Governor Dallas, who had arranged to leave for England as early as the season would permit.

Several of the highest officers in the service had travelled hundreds of miles on the last ice, in order to be present at this meeting, which, from the action taken thereat, in commencing measures still in an unsettled state, was an important one. These gentlemen scattered early in June, and, like the vast majority of residents at Red River, spent the summer in travelling towards their respective destinations.

The readers of the "Nor' Wester" were, during this season so barren of interest, treated from time to time with some gentle stimulant of local excitement, sometimes in the shape of an editorial, and at others in that of a letter from an aggrieved correspondent. One of the latter class, early in June, solicited public attention to a detailed narrative of his miseries.

Joseph Lemay, Esq., judge, postmaster and collector of United States customs at the frontier post of Pembina, filled a tolerably well paid office, but was exposed, in the execution of his duties, to an almost intolerable amount of abuse and obloquy at the hands of a class of men who cared as much about the obligations imposed by civilized laws as they respected Mr. Lemay for his professional knowledge of such. His own countrymen resident at Red River troublement were supposed to give the collector, on the whole, more trouble than did the British colonists, while he revenged himself as far as possible by strictly adhering to the letter of his instructions as regards releases for bonded goods, and relaxed no charge which it was in his power legally to enforce against the enemy. It will readily be understood that much power which might be perfectly legally used, either to retard or facilitate the transmission of goods, was necessarily vested in the hands of such a person as Mr. Lemay.

So unpopular had that public servant become among a certain class that he stood in well-grounded fear of personal violence at the hands of its members as often as they entered an appearance with a fresh cargo of bonded merchandize at his head-quarters. When at St. Paul he met his persecutors, secure under the wing of an organized police force, he has been known to exhibit somewhat more than his wonted confidence in his communications with them, receiving in reply a plain intimation that he had better take

care what he did or he would walk in a skinful of sore bones the first time his interlocutors should encounter him at Pembina. His visits to Red River Settlement occasionally proved disastrous. Those with whom it was his object to do business, treacherously concealing their designs under the cloak of hospitality, pressed on his acceptance the peculiarly stimulating beverages commonly used in the country, and occasionally reduced their visitor to a condition in which he found it prudent to avoid engaging in business. To do Mr. Lemay justice, however, the latter event was one very uncommon in his experience, as he was, I believe, a match, so far as ability lay in the consumption of spirits, more than competent to deal with any adversary he would be likely often to meet. Latterly, moreover, he prudently shielded himself against all such attempts under the plea of total abstinence.

Sometimes the war was carried on more openly. The collector called one day on a man, who he alleged had deceived him, and told him, "Sir, you are a liar!" He was immediately knocked down for his pains by a blow on the eye which rendered him a deplorable spectacle for a long time. He applied to several magistrates for satisfaction on account of the assault he had sustained, and justified the offensive expression he had used on the ground: "I called him a liar because he *was* a liar, and I could not call him anything else."

On another occasion he was knocked down with an axe handle in the course of a dispute with a settler, rising out of an alleged overcharge of two cents in his Pembina postage accounts.

The special subject of Mr. Lemay's letter to the "Nor' Wester" consisted of the events which had transpired at Pembina subsequent to the withdrawal of Major Hatch's battalion, when he, acting in conformity with the instructions of General Sibley, took charge of the vacant barracks. Scarcely had the steamer carrying off the troops got out of sight, wrote the collector, when a promiscuous crowd of forty or fifty pillagers entered the buildings and occupied themselves during the ensuing three or four days in carrying off every movable article they contained, including doors, locks, mantelpieces and furniture. They paid no attention to the warnings of the legal occupant, as to the consequences of their



acts, and left that gentleman to encourage himself in the hope "that their day of retribution would soon be at hand."

The looting completed, Mr. Lemay's next anxiety rose from a friendly warning, conveyed to him by a friend journeying past the dismantled fortress, that, on the preceding day, a party of Sioux had been seen dancing in a neighbouring village, and that a second party consisting of about twenty-five or thirty of the same tribe, had boasted of being on their way to Pembina in quest of the collector's scalp. To quote the words of Mr. Lemay, "they had received the information from a friend of mine (over the left) residing in the settlement, that I was the only American left in charge of Major Hatch's quarters. They said that the description of my person had been given them by the infernal villain above alluded to, who doubtless would himself take my life, had he no more fears of a gallows or a hemp rope than he has of Divine Justice."

The clue once obtained to this fresh deed of darkness, corroborating circumstances presented themselves in a formidable number. A Sioux boy, whom Major Hatch had left with the French priest, Père André, suddenly disappeared. The dogs in the neighbourhood barked strangely during the short summer nights, and human footprints were discovered of a morning in the neighbourhood, pointing clearly to the fact of the presence of the enemy round the collector's premises. The Sioux boasted they had been on the watch for a day, but had not seen Mr. Lemay outside of his house, while they were afraid of making a mistake and killing an Englishman instead of him. "But now," continued Mr. Lemay, "that they have Major Hatch's little devil to identify me, they intend coming down again; therefore deeming it prudent for me to get away from my house, I came down to stop with Captain Hackland." Mr. Hackland was the gentleman in charge of the Hudson's Bay trading post on the British side of the line about two miles from the barracks which Mr. Lemay found it prudent he should quit. He derived his title of Captain from the fact of his having commanded the York Factory schooner for a series of years.

Mr. Lemay added that his presence had drawn the Sioux to his new quarters, and the settlers outside the walls were so much alarmed that Hackland was compelled to permit them to take

refuge at night within the Fort. Under these circumstances he felt that the interest of his government called him to St. Paul, for which place he would start in a few days, leaving a substitute to act as inspector of customs in his absence. He intended however to return at some future happier time, unless, says he, "my life gets too much exposed; in which case of course I would rather tender my resignation, for the loss of my life would very little benefit the Government, and far less my family."

Fortunately Mr. Lemay escaped from all the dangers which beset him, and having long since retired from the post office business, he remains still (1869) at Pembina as collector of customs, in which capacity he acts as an interested and zealous servant of his department. A better understanding appears to prevail between him and his customers, of whom we now never hear it said they commit any assault or battery against his person.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

1864-65.

Heat—Drought and Locusts—St. John's Cathedral; Its Leaning Tower—Last great Sioux visit—North West Cricket Club—Bad Crops—Hudson's Bay Company's Ships stranded on Mansfield Island—Captain Sennett's Winter Journey—Masonic proceedings—Celebration of St. John's Day—"Nor' Wester" Office destroyed by Fire—Mr. Hunt's Poetical efforts—Northern Tour of Rev. Père Vandenberghe—Bishop Faraud—Grasshoppers—Sequel of Hunter vs. Tate—Archdeacon Hunter's Departure—Mr. William Thomson Smith's adventure in Mackenzie River District.

THE heat of the summer of 1864 at Red River was so extreme that nobody in the settlement remembered such another. The thermometer sometimes continued for a considerable portion of the afternoon to stand at 100 degrees in the shade. The river sank and the International made only one trip, that being the first she had been enabled to accomplish for nearly two years, during which she had lain, unharmed throughout the Indian war, at Georgetown and Fort Abercrombie. The droughts prevailed until the middle of July, when rain for the first time visited the parched ground. With it, unfortunately, arrived swarms of locusts which with terrible voracity cleared away the rising crops. The barley was first attacked, after which the leaves were stripped from the wheat, and finally the stalks of the latter were gnawed through immediately below the ear.

The public mind had been more or less, ever since the completion of the sixty feet tower of the cathedral of St. John, in the autumn of 1863, under the impression that the structure was unsafe, from a defect in the work, in consequence of which the weight of the tower rested, it was fancied, to a dangerous extent, on the gable of the church. This current impression had been confirmed by a perceptible and increasing tendency of the tower to

fall backwards from the perpendicular, inclining towards the main building. The "Nor' Wester," during the month of August, 1864, published the substance of a communication it had received from a correspondent who desired that the public mind might be set at rest by a thorough investigation of the point in question.

This article drew forth a reply at considerable length from Archdeacon Hunter, who, as the senior resident ecclesiastic, came forward to reassure the people. The Archdeacon wrote that he thought the correspondent of the "Nor' Wester" might have communicated with the vestry before unnecessarily alarming the public through the newspapers, and, moreover, there appeared to have been an extraordinary delay in the publication of this letter, seeing it described things as they had been many weeks before, and steps had been taken, at a date long anterior to its appearance, to remedy the evils of which he complained. A meeting of experienced tradesmen had declared the tower itself to be safe; but expressed serious misgivings about the gable, which had accordingly been taken down, and "the stones of which he seems to have such great fear are lying quiet and harmless on the ground outside of the building, so that he need have no apprehension so far as the gable is concerned."

To the remarks of the Archdeacon the editors appended a few personal observations of their own. They assured their readers that, even if the gable should at any time come down, it would doubtless fall outwards and not inwards, but that it would not be left to either fate, "something in the way of buttresses would be used to stay it." The tower of the cathedral was examined daily by the Rev. Thomas Thistlethwaite Smith, the temporary incumbent, with such accuracy that a deflexion of one-sixteenth of an inch would be immediately detected. This Mr Smith did, not because he feared anything of the kind himself, but in order to satisfy the hearers. Mr. Smith and the Archdeacon appear to have been in the right, as the tower has stood the test of time; but their feeling of assurance did not immediately extend itself to the lay worshippers, as was, I believe, pretty plainly evinced by the nervousness which prevailed indoors one Sunday, some months afterwards, when one of the four large weathercocked pinnacles

which adorned the corners at the summit of the tower, fell with a resounding blow on the sharp gabled roof of the building in which the people were assembled for morning prayer. The cause of the accident was a magnificent flag, presented to the church by a friend in England, which had been, in commemoration of some important event, hoisted that morning on a proportionately, somewhat diminutive flagstaff erected on the top of the tower. This ornament, agitated by an unusually strong wind, got entangled about the pinnacle which it loosened from the adjoining masonry and forced from its position. The excitement below was described as exceeding in intensity that which had prevailed one morning, when the folding legs of the Bishop's state chair, emblazoned with the mitre-crowned armorial bearings of the Diocese, gave way, precipitating his lordship somewhat unexpectedly to the ground, while his assistant was reading the Epistle for the day; only, whereas a tendency to smile had, on the previous occasion, shown itself pretty plainly in certain quarters, the congregation, in the latter instance, indulged in no such ill-timed levity.

A somewhat unusual event occurred at the August Quarter Sessions of this year. The assize was a "maiden" one, and gave an opportunity to Mr. Sheriff McKenney of presenting the presiding judge with a pair of white gloves, along with a neat speech of his own, "in accordance," said the Sheriff, "with a time-honoured usage on such occasions in English courts."

Towards the end of August the settlement was visited by the last large party of Sioux which it has been as yet called on to receive. It certainly has never for any considerable length of time been entirely free from the presence of some of these Indians, but they have been merely stragglers, come often for purposes of trade. On the present occasion their party consisted of three hundred and fifty lodges, including about three thousand souls, divided into four bands, under four chiefs, named "Standing Buffalo," "Turning Thunder," "Charger," and the "Leaf." They had abandoned their hunting grounds and their lake fisheries and come hungry to the settlement, where it was necessary they should be fed. Governor Mactavish had gone to meet them at the Prairie Portage, where he had endeavoured to dissuade them from visiting the heart

of the colony. Standing Buffalo supported him to the extent of recommending that only their chiefs should proceed, with the object of making arrangements about opening up a trade between their nation and the Hudson's Bay Company, and procuring some necessary supplies they could not get elsewhere. Ultimately Standing Buffalo took with him only a few of his chief men, while the three other chiefs were accompanied by their entire bands. They spoke a good deal about their English medals got during the American war, and complained of the permission given Major Hatch to pursue their fellow sufferers on British territory.

A short distance from the settlement four hundred and fifty lodges were encamped, the tenants of which had not decided on visiting the colony. From those who had already come it was gathered that a general desire prevailed among their tribes to conclude a peace with the Americans, but such as were so inclined were intimidated by the ill-disposed, who urged a prosecution of the war. They were given to understand that their presence at Red River was very undesirable, and informed that all that could be done for them was to allow the traders on the Plains to deal with them as with any other Indians, and the common interest would be their guarantee that this should be done, if their conduct would render it practicable. After a very short stay they departed, receiving as usual a present of provisions. On their way off, on this the last of their visits, they have been accused of committing a variety of outrages, of which they were doubtless guilty in part; but to some people it has appeared no great breach of charity to suspect the resident Indians of being concerned in robberies of which the Sioux were certain to receive the credit. It was said they had called at every house on their track where children resided who had been sold to the settlers by their friends, who had wintered in the neighbourhood, and taken away the children, in some instances much against their will. This was effected sometimes surreptitiously, and sometimes by open force. They also committed sacrilege, stealing some altar decorations from a Roman Catholic church, and a communion cloth and other articles from an isolated English chapel, which they entered during the night. In view of further visits of a similar nature the "Nor' Wester"

again agitated the question of organizing a local force to protect the colony, but the project, after having been canvassed in the usual way, again fell to the ground.

From time to time energetic attempts had been made by residents at Fort Garry to institute an effective cricket club. Bats, balls, and wickets of approved make had been imported in considerable quantities for the use of the players, and, so long as the military remained at Red River, the institution was to a certain extent a success. After their departure, however, the enterprise languished, and it was not until October, 1864, that the advent of an amateur adept in the game from Canada infused new life into the undertaking. On the afternoon of Saturday, 24th September, a considerable crowd of those anxious to be initiated into the mysteries of cricket attended at Fort Garry, on a spot in the neighbourhood of which the wickets were pitched, and the play commenced in a somewhat pell-mell style just at first.

On the first day of meeting the Governor was nominated President of the club, and the motion was carried with unanimous consent. A committee and working officers were then appointed. Mr. Coldwell, the editor, who, in addition to his other good qualities, was a somewhat expert cricketer, accepted the office of secretary. The business of subscriptions was got over and a resolution unanimously passed that the presence of any number of members, sufficient to carry on a game, on the cricket ground, with the bats and wickets, should constitute a formal meeting of the "North West Cricket Club."

As winter was close at hand, and the only day available for the practice of the game was Saturday, not many meetings of the club occurred during the first year of its renovation, and those assemblies which did take place appeared to have other objects in view than the pure play. The general course of operations pursued may be described as being somewhat like the following: a small red flag was planted on a staff at one part of the field, while the more expert players began bowling and batting. For perhaps half an hour the business was briskly kept up, while the numbers present were constantly receiving augmentations from belated members. A proposal made that some gentleman should forthwith go

and hunt up "refreshments" was passed by an overwhelming majority, and the deputy adjourned to the Fort Garry shop, whence, some time afterwards, he emerged, bringing with him the stimulants desired contained in a little keg, in one hand, and a tin kettle of cold water in the other. His appearance was the signal for an immediate cessation of ball practice, while the members, circled in a social knot, tried conclusions with the good things provided for their entertainment. Such an episode, repeated with increasing frequency as the short autumn day faded into evening, began to tell on the conduct of the players. The vigor and expertness of aim with which the bowling was executed increased with every round; balls flew, with velocities proportioned to the strength of the batsman and the breaking strain of his instrument, in parabolic curves of infinite degrees of eccentricity, whose courses, in the deepening gloom, defied the range of vision or the practical calculations of "long stop" and "long field on." The most profound adept present in the cricketer's art generally knew least in what direction to look for the next projectile, which, after passing through a process of vigorous exchange between "long stop," "long slip," and "cover point," should double him up on one side, or, spinning with no hesitating bound from the wickets, take him unawares on the other. Nightfall necessarily put an end to the field portion of this somewhat practically jocular entertainment.

The mischief done by the grasshoppers had spoiled the harvest, but the fisheries and Plain hunts continued to supply the people with food, and the low water in the river, which had prevented the steamboat running, necessitated the employment of a vast number of Red River carts by the Company's freight contractors, thus supplying the numerous settlers possessed of moderate means, who owned the vehicles, with profitable employment during summer for themselves and their cattle. Indeed, the mishaps which hitherto prevented the working of this steamer proved great windfalls to the people. In former times the freight, which now comes by Saint Paul, passed to its destination by the York route, and the cash disbursed in purchasing its transport between the Bay and the settlement, being paid to the Red River tripmen who worked the boats, circulated in the colony, while the sums disbursed to the St.



Paul contractors of late years have been paid in bills of exchange on the Board of the Company in London, which, being negotiated in the United States, cut off a large outlet of the local cash currency formerly flowing from the Company's strong box. The St. Paul contractors, being unable to run the steamer, were compelled to engage freighters at Red River to travel to Georgetown, there to meet the goods brought thither from St. Paul by their own people, over that portion of their freight route intended, at the time of arranging the terms of their contract, to be traversed by land carriage. Large importations of grain were brought from Minnesota, and the local duty thereon was repealed by the Council of Assiniboia. In consequence of these circumstances anything approaching a famine was averted.

During the autumn Mr. Mactavish, Governor of Assiniboia, retired from the charge of the Company's district of Red River, in which he was succeeded by Chief Factor James Robert Clare, who had been for some years the officer in charge of York Factory. Mr. Clare at first received no commission to act as magistrate in the settlement, it being considered advisable that the Company's legislative and trading interests should be in separate hands. Mr. Clare was, however, subsequently appointed a councillor of Assiniboia. As Mr. Mactavish temporarily quitted the colony on a visit to England, Mr. Black, the president of the courts, was appointed to act as Governor during his absence.

The Company's ships sent to the Bay in 1864 had been unfortunate. The "Prince Arthur," steering for Moose Factory, and the "Prince of Wales," for York, had both run aground within sight of each other on a spot somewhat out of their usual route at the Bay extremity of Hudson's Straits, named Mansfield Island. The former was completely wrecked, and the latter so badly injured that she had to be left to pass the winter at the Factory, whither she had managed to sail from the scene of the disaster, carrying with her the crew, passengers and part of the cargo of her less fortunate companion. Had the "Ocean Nymph," a chartered vessel of the Company, not gone to York that year in safety, the accident would have been very damaging indeed. As it happened the Moose Factory returns were detained

for one year from market and its next year's outfit lost in consequence of the wreck of the "Prince Arthur." The "Prince of Wales," after spending a winter on the beach of Hudson's Bay, was put once more into sailing order, by the skilful carpenters forwarded from London the ensuing year, and returned to England. At the time of the accident at Mansfield Island two American whalers were in the immediate neighbourhood, the captains of which offered their services to rescue the cargo from the wreck, but with small effect.

Towards Christmas the Captain of the "Prince of Wales" along with two of his officers passed Red River on their way to England, the captain of the "Prince Arthur" and crews of both vessels having gone home directly in the "Ocean Nymph." Captain Sennett had experienced a very troublesome passage over the ice on the rivers and lakes between York and the settlement. He said that of all the long journeys he had made round the globe, this had been the least pleasant. His appearance on his arrival one evening at a solitary hut on a point in Lake Winnipeg, then used as a temporary trading point by one of the Company's clerks, is said to have borne strong testimony to the truth of his description. A short distance from Grassy Narrows, as the place was called, a sudden crack in the ice took place near the spot where the Captain's carriage pursued its peaceful way. An outbreak of waters issuing from the gap, speedily though somewhat rudely restored the gallant sailor to his accustomed element. The runner, who was driving his dogs, seeing the water coming, jumped upon the standing board protruding behind the Captain's carriage, which at once capsized, while the passenger picked himself up wet to the skin. He had some trouble in reaching Grassy Narrows, his clothes freezing round his body, and on his arrival he vented his indignation at every body and everything in a style the purity of which was so marred by quotations from the Latin as to be only partially intelligible to his plain fur-trading host, "*Vestigia nulla retrorsum,*" "*cæteris paribus,*" "*sine qua non ne plus ultra,*" "*quantum sufficit,*" "*et cætera,*" being terms little used in Rupert's Land.

The Captain, moreover, was a Freemason, and had already

encountered a brother in authority at Norway House. His arrival was, of course, hailed as an auspicious event by the members of the Northern Light Lodge, who vied with each other to honour their itinerant fellow mason. After enjoying the hospitalities of the colony during a stay of a few days, he and his two junior officers left Fort Garry for England on Christmas Eve.

From the first closing in of winter it was evident that the lodge of Freemasons, which had been instituted in spring, had determined vigorously to carry on the business proper to such an association. The lodge met one evening each week, and the number of candidates who presented themselves for admission kept it fully employed throughout the early part of the season and formed quite a goodly-sized brotherhood. The little village, the project of calling which by the name of the great lake in its neighbourhood was then beginning to be spoken of, presented quite a scene of activity and bustle on the evenings of meeting, as cutters from all quarters brought members to the spot. Many of the wealthier people in the colony had joined the lodge, and the number included a highly respectable proportion of the resident Anglican clergy. Archdeacon Hunter was chaplain to the lodge, and Dr. Schultz, as already mentioned, acting master.

With reference to this fraternity I hope the following extract from the "Nor' Wester" of 23rd January, 1865, will not be considered unworthy of a place in this work:

#### CELEBRATION OF ST. JOHN'S DAY.

"The 27th December was observed by the members of Northern Light Lodge as a day of festivity in honour of one of their patron saints. At half-past two on that day the doors of the lodge were thrown open to the few who were invited to be present at the ceremonies, it being a matter of much regret that the small size of the room interfered with the wishes of the invitation committee, who would have been pleased to have invited a much larger number. The formal ceremony of installing officers commenced shortly afterwards, and on its conclusion addresses were made by the master, Rev. W. Taylor, and Ven. Archdeacon Hunter. From the lodge the members and guests proceeded to the dinner

which was provided, after which suitable masonic and other toasts were proposed, which were replied to by Judge Black, Mr. Chief Factor Clare, and others.

The dinner concluded, the remainder of the evening was spent in the house of A. G. B. Bannatyne, Esq., who kindly threw open his rooms for the purpose.

The following are the officers for the year: Dr. Schultz, W.M.; Mr. Bannatyne, S.W.; Mr. W. Inkster, J.W.; Mr. Coldwell, sec.; Mr. Sheal, treas.; Ven. Archdeacon Hunter, chaplain; Mr. Hall, S.D., Mr. Curtis, J.D., Dr. Bird and Rev. W. Taylor, stewards, Mr. Morgan, tyler."

It was currently rumoured outside that a very important part of the entertainment enjoyed by the masons consisted in the supper which followed the more solemn proceedings in the lodge. Regarding the details of the latter, nothing, I believe, was ever certainly known, but the notes of a harmonium popularly supposed to have been played by the Rev. Thomas Thistlethwaite Smith could not be well hushed or confined within the precincts of the meeting chamber, and led to an impression that something very mysteriously pleasing was in progress. The institution, however, like all local Red River institutions, yet introduced, after being vigorously patronized throughout the winter on the events of which we are now engaged, subsequently fell off very much, in consequence of the departure from the colony of many of the most influential members, and for some years past no meeting has been held and the lodge may be considered extinct.

On the night of the 23rd February a destructive fire broke out on the premises occupied by the "Nor' Wester" establishment, which had attained such proportions before it was observed as defied all the efforts which could be made to extinguish it. The printing house and its contents, along with an adjacent book and stationery warehouse belonging to Mr. Coldwell, were entirely consumed, while his neighbouring dwelling-house narrowly escaped a similar fate.

The origin of the fire never was discovered. The flames were first observed about one o'clock in the morning; and when the office had been closed for the evening, about eight hours previously, the stove had been apparently cold. The loss was very heavy and

entirely uncovered by insurance, there being no such system known as yet at Red River. The kindness of friends largely assisted the unfortunate speculation. Type, press, paper and ink were obtained in the settlement, a room in the old building formerly occupied as St. John's Collegiate School was placed at the service of the Journal, and on Thursday, 30th March, the proprietors were enabled to re-commence issuing a paper of only half the usual size. Instead of fortnightly issues new numbers were produced every nine days in order to make up for lost time.

Mr. Frank Larned Hunt who had become a constant and esteemed contributor to the "Nor' Wester," composed a tolerably lengthy metrical production bearing upon the above deplorable occurrence, which was published in the most prominent part of the first issue thereafter. The first three of the whole twelve verses composing the poem, along with the explanatory note attached thereto, I beg to reproduce. The "Nightly Atmospheric Phenomena" referred to were a number of very bright and remarkable meteors which had been visible at Red River about that time.

#### THE NOR' WESTER.

*Written for this Journal.*

"How sudden stilled our late desire!  
Quick hid from view our banquet rare!  
How? Quenched alas! in smouldering fire,  
Akin half-way to dark despair;  
Which finds its depths in wasting flame,  
Which eddying whirls to gulf a name.

Ye vault of blue and span of heaven!  
Thy sheeted forks and thunder drear;  
Why presage with thy boding flames,  
Yet others bursting, ah! too near—  
To wrap within their fiery fold  
And leave our hopes, like ashes, cold.

It was not then, oh grief! in vain  
Thy bended arc o'er lustrous grew,  
And flashed upon the glittering plain  
A light too warm, (disastrous hue!)  
Each crystal tinged with ruddy glow,  
A portent in the myriad show."

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\* NOTE.—"An allusion is here made, with allowed poetical license, to certain nightly atmospheric phenomena occurring here but recently. Should the image or idea seem overstrained, the writer has only to say that, did omen portend disaster in the affairs of men, they should fitly appear as precursors to an accident like this, threatening extinction to the now necessity of true civilization, the journal in men's midst. Signed F."

I may here mention that, in the following month of July, Mr. Coldwell, one of the two original founders of the "Nor' Wester," dissolved partnership with Dr. Schultz, who thenceforward conducted the paper on his own sole responsibility.

Towards the end of May, 1864, the Rev. Père Vandenberghe, member of the General Council of the Roman Catholic order of the Oblats in France, and visiting inspector of missions, arrived at Red River. In the ensuing month he embarked in one of the Portage La Loche brigades of boats and travelled inland as far as Portage La Loche. Thence, having met Bishop Grandin on his way out from the districts of Athabasca and McKenzie River, in which he had spent the preceding three years, he returned to Isle à la Crosse, where he arrived, until the arrival of Bishop Taché, who, starting from Red River in August and travelling overland to Fort Ellice, and thence chiefly by water, joined the inspector on 15th September. These two gentlemen forthwith went on a tour of inspection through their Saskatchewan missions, which continued all winter. On the 27th January, 1865, they found themselves at Carlton in readiness to travel thence by the Northern Express, which as already explained in Chapter XII, leaves Carlton annually about that time for Red River. On 23rd February they reached the settlement on their return. Père Vanderberghe remained, living chiefly at St. Boniface, until the 5th June, when he finally quitted the country. During his residence of three months at Red River, the only accident he encountered in the course of his year's pilgrimage in these uncivilized parts befel him. He had gone along with a priest to visit the Mission of St Joseph, near Pembina, about the time the last of the winter snows were melting, and the rivers in high flood. In crossing a small stream called La Rivière aux Prunes, the buggy in which he travelled was overturned and he and his companion thrown out into the chill water, whence they issued with chattering teeth and dripping clothes to run the gauntlet of episcopal wit which urged them to make light of the matter: "Puisqu'un Visiteur doit aller même jusqu'au fond des choses courantes."

On the 25th May the colony saw the advent of another Roman

Catholic dignitary. The Right Reverend Dr. Faraud, Bishop of Anemour, had left Isle à la Crosse in 1863, and gone to France, there to receive the rite of consecration to the episcopal office. After having visited Rome and other places, he came to Canada in February, 1865, and occupied himself for some months in superintending the impression of Indian books. He was accompanied by three priests and three lay brothers. The Bishop and his party left Red River in the Portage La Loche boats on their way to his newly established Diocese, comprehending the country to the north of Portage La Loche, drained by the Athabasca and McKenzie rivers.

During the voyage of the "Prince of Wales" to York Factory, in the autumn of 1863, typhus fever had broken out among the recruits for service in the country and, on arrival at her destination, nearly fifty out of the total number of seventy were seriously ill. The infection spread through the territory, and in the course of the summer of 1865, raged fiercely in Red River Settlement, proving fatal to a seriously large proportion of the population. The densely crowded manner in which the poorer class in the colony live in their single chambered unventilated huts, doubtless assisted largely in spreading the contagion. One of the most generally regretted victims was Mr. François Bruneau, a French half-breed, and a most useful and respected justice of the peace. He was the leading councillor selected from among those of his nationality and race, among whom his influence was very great. In his family alone, including himself and his wife, whose funeral was the same with his own, twelve individuals died from the prevailing fever, which moderated in virulence only with the advent of the cold winter weather.

The arrival in spring of vast swarms of grasshoppers proved very destructive to the tender blades of the crops as they appeared above ground. Having devoured all before them they laid their eggs in the ground and took flight. It was hoped that the peculiarly cold weather, which prevailed towards the close of May, when hail fell in large quantities, would have destroyed them; but it had no appreciable effect. On bright sunny days they might have been seen by the observer, towards noon, in clouds suggestive

of multitudes such as the human comprehension fails to grasp. In cloudy weather they generally fell, and, to quote the words of the "Nor' Wester," "woe betide the grain fields in or near which they come down, for they stay till they devour everything of value, generally commencing the feast with the grain crops, not even thinking buckwheat beneath their notice, then passing on to the root crops and stuffing their hungry maws with potatoes, cabbages, onions, when particularly greedy including horse radish in their bill of fare, and winding up with a 'chew' of grass and herbs. We have been told that a young man, who was out hoeing potatoes happened to leave his coat in the grass for a couple of hours, and when he returned to pick it up he found it covered with grasshoppers, who had succeeded in eating a number of big holes in it."

At the quarterly court, which commenced its sittings on 16th May, 1865, a case came on for hearing, which had grown out of a series of circumstances already detailed in Chapter XIX. It will be remembered that the Venerable Archdeacon Hunter, having consented to compromise the action for damages he had intended to bring against John Tait, in February, 1863, had promised to divide the sum of £100, in consideration of which he had decided on taking this course, between the two daughters of Mr. Tait. The approaching departure of Mr. Hunter from the country, without giving any indications of an immediate fulfilment of his promise, was, I presume, the motive which induced the parties interested to attempt obtaining the recovery of the money by litigation. An action was raised by Duncan and Elizabeth McDonald, and Alexander and Anne McDonald, being the two daughters of Mr. John Tait, and their respective husbands, against the venerable Archdeacon Hunter, as defendant. The total amount demanded was £110; and was composed of the two sums of £100 claimed as "debt" and £10 as "damages." Dr. Bird, the coroner and leading medical practitioner in the settlement acted as the Archdeacon's agent, while Mr. John Tait appeared for the plaintiffs. The entire ground on which the latter supported their claim was the verbal promise of the Archdeacon already explained by me in a former chapter, while Mr. Hunter claimed that a repetition of the offence on the part of Mr. Tait at a period



subsequent to that of the said promise had released him from any moral obligation to fulfil it. The verdict on this evidence was, of course, in favour of the defendant.

Mr. Hunter finally quitted the settlement towards the close of May, and is now settled in England. It has been said that the rumours respecting him, which had continued to perpetuate themselves more or less until his departure, as well as the annoyance caused him by the law proceedings described, preyed on his mind, and excited therein a very strong feeling of dislike against the country. A few years after his arrival in Rupert's Land, in 1844, Mr. Alexander Ross, in his book on "Red River Settlement," thus writes of him :

"The Saskatchewan or Cumberland mission, as it is called, had been long neglected, but it is now in rather a thriving way. A few years ago an excellent and indefatigable man, the Rev. Mr. Hunter, was appointed to that station, who, by his unwearied application, zeal and talent has made himself master of the Indian language, in order to preach in the native tongue, the only instance we have known among our Protestant missionaries in this quarter. This, indeed, is doing the work of a missionary in right good earnest."

The mention made of Mr. Hunter by Dr. Taché, in his book on "Roman Catholic Missions in the country," though obviously not intended to be personally complimentary, has also been instanced in my hearing as creditable to the Archdeacon, and certainly bears witness to his activity during a journey he made to McKenzie River in 1858.

While it would be, therefore, I think, improper for me to assert that, because the gentleman in question refused lightly to yield to legal compulsion in the performance of his own voluntary and most becoming purpose, he does not yet mean to fulfil it, at what he may consider a more appropriate and convenient season, it will, doubtless be felt by many to be a matter of regret that a clergyman, such as the one described in the above quoted extract, who had spent twenty-one years in missionary and clerical work, should leave the country in which he had laboured, harbouring the sentiments likely to be excited by the above recorded events.

It was during the earlier part of May that, on Saturday evening,

after tea, I occupied the sofa in Bachelor's Hall. I had just finished the perusal of the "Life of St. Francois Xavier," by the Rev. Henry Venn, and availed myself of the unusual silence resulting from the rare presence of nobody save myself in that place of perpetual uproar, to revolve a little in my mind the more remarkable features of the narrative in hand. Suddenly a roughly-dressed person ran upstairs with heavy steps, and, without speaking, rushed into one of the private rooms, whence, finding it unoccupied, he presently emerged and advanced to me with the greeting of an old acquaintance. Something in the face of the stranger suggested familiarity; but, as the train of association which it indicated led to a gentleman, believed by myself, in common with every one at Fort Garry, to be then, as when last heard from by the winter packet, residing at Fort Rae, one of the remoter posts in the McKenzie River district, whence, under ordinary circumstances, passenger communication occurs only once in the autumn of each year, I should hardly have been more tongue-tied had the respected missionary, whose adventurous career I had been contemplating, himself appeared in the body on the floor of Bachelor's Hall.

To the question, "Do you know me?" I replied "No;" but, as it became gradually apparent my presentiment was correct, I inquired, "How on earth did you get here?" In reply I was informed my interlocutor had come on foot a great part of the way from McKenzie River, travelling overland by Saskatchewan and Swan River.

Mr. William Thomson Smith has been already described in this narrative as the person who had, on the day of my arrival at Fort Garry, headed the crowd emerging from the messroom, and hospitably recalled Mr. Morgan and myself as we were leaving the very apartment in which he, on the latter occasion, so unexpectedly re-appeared. Since 1861 he had passed a winter in Swan River, whence he had gone to McKenzie River, in 1862, and remained there till early in 1865; in consequence of the following tragical events he had quitted it.

On the morning of the preceding 13th January, Mr. Smith, then in charge of Fort Rae, had loaded his gun preparatory to going on

a shooting expedition in the neighbourhood of his residence. On leaving the fort he saw one of his men, named Pierre Gendron, about to start with his dog-sledge for the purpose of transporting to the Fort some wood in process of being cut down for fuel at a spot about two miles distant. Mr. Smith mounted the man's sledge and was driven to the place where Olivier Laferté, another of his servants, being the brother-in-law of the former, was engaged in chopping wood. Arrived at the place Mr. Smith, without noticing that both barrels of his gun were on full cock, threw the instrument across his arm, and commenced rubbing his hands which were very cold. Suddenly his gun went off and Gendron fell mortally wounded, dying instantly.

Laferté, who was chopping wood at the moment of the explosion, at once turned round and caught hold of Mr. Smith, who, horrified at the accident, and remembering that Mr. Chief Trader Hardisty, the gentleman in charge of McKenzie River district, was expected daily on a visit of inspection at Fort Rae, charged Laferté to conceal the cause of the accident until Mr. Hardisty's arrival. The man, who had immediately after the accident managed to get his finger on the trigger so as to cause the second barrel of Mr. Smith's gun to explode in the air, promised compliance, and, after having concealed the weapon, wrapped in a capot, among some cordwood, master and man returned to the Fort. After breakfast, for which, as may be imagined, his appetite was small, Laferté returned to the scene of the accident, whence he brought back the gun and, after handing it to Mr. Smith, gave the alarm that he had found Gendron dead in the woods. At first it was believed Indians had killed him, and considerable horror and curiosity prevailed in the Fort as the corpse was brought thither on a sledge and the wound examined by the people.

The same evening, however, Laferté, finding himself unable any longer to maintain silence, told the whole story to a man named William Hoole, and early next morning related it publicly to all his comrades, among whom was a person named Neil McNevin, who had previously borne somewhat of a grudge against Mr. Smith, in consequence of the latter having failed to receive and treat him as superior to the other labourers and as a sort of petty officer, to

which position he had no right. Headed by this man Mr. Smith's servants attacked him in a body and tied him; he, seeing that the facts were known, offered no resistance, though from the words which fell from him it was evident he was in a very excited state. After a detention of five days after the accident at Fort Rae, Mr. Smith's men started, conveying him on a sledge, to headquarters at Fort Simpson.

On the 6th February an examination took place at the latter Fort before Chief Trader Hardisty and other officers, and the above recorded circumstances were elicited. As a formal charge of wilful murder had, however, been made by Neil McNevin, and as the half-breed part of the community was much excited, Mr. Hardisty resolved on forwarding Mr. Smith to Norway House, and offered him facilities to travel southwards, in order to wait there or at Red River the arrival of the witnesses in the case, who were to follow by the Portage boats in summer. After a very rugged and exhausting journey, a great part of which was accomplished during the spring thaws when the country was almost impassable, Mr. Smith, as above related, reached Red River. On the arrival in autumn of the boats bringing the witnesses, an investigation of the facts took place before the Governor of Rupert's Land and Judge Black, in order that, should there be any evidence to corroborate the charge made by McNevin, the case might, as Mr. Smith himself professed to desire, be sent to Canada for trial before some competent court. The above officers, were, however, so fully convinced of the accidental nature of the tragedy that they refused to commit Mr. Smith, and there the matter ended.

Mr. Hardisty, in commenting on the circumstances, declared the conduct of Mr. Smith's men to have been "harsh and unjustifiable." The conduct of the unfortunate gentleman himself after the accident was most praiseworthy. He made over the whole of what property he possessed, including the amount he had saved during all his term of service, to the widow and family of the deceased, and, on quitting the district in which the deplorable affair occurred, did so, much to the regret of all the officers with whom he had been on very friendly terms.

## CHAPTER XXV.

1865.

Governor Mactavish—Journey across Lake Winnipeg—Drunken River Point Camp—Incidents of Lake travel—Norway House—Rossville Wesleyan Mission—Inland Summer routine—Return to Red River Settlement.

EARLY in June William Mactavish, Esq., Governor of Rupert's Land, who had spent the preceding winter in Canada and England, arrived at Fort Garry on his way to Norway House, to preside at the annual meeting of the Council of Rupert's Land.

As a specimen of what summer travelling in the Hudson's Bay Territory is, I shall here record the details of the trip which I made with the Governor on this occasion to Norway House, and later in the season to St. Paul.

On the afternoon of Monday, the 12th June, I mounted my horse, preparatory to riding over the first twenty miles stage of the journey, extending to Lower Fort Garry. During its course nothing occurred of sufficient consequence to deserve special mention. In the evening Judge Black, whose residence was in the neighbourhood of the Stone Fort, and some other gentlemen, called in.

Next morning, immediately after breakfast, we embarked in the "Light Boat" which was to take us across the Lake. It was manned by eight men and a steersman, and was decorated with a small red "H. B. Flag" hoisted on a flagstaff in the stern. We started with a magnificent wind blowing freshly from the south, which carried us, without any assistance from the oars, to the mouth of the river, being a distance of about twenty miles, in three hours. The river banks at Lower Fort Garry are very high and wooded. About seven miles below the Fort lie the Indian Church and settlement of St. Peters with the small log houses

inhabited by the population scattered at short intervals along the banks. Some miles below the church the woods disappear and the banks, which gradually sink to a lower and lower level, are covered with long reedy grass. Indian tents, surrounded by nets hung up to dry, indicate the pursuits of their owners. The stream, after reaching the low country, splits into narrow channels, through several of which its waters find their way into Lake Winnipeg.

At the outlet of the main channel our boat was run along shore. The bank here was composed of a long strip of land, abounding with minute fresh water shells, running out into the Lake, the waters of which extended northwards out of sight. Even the semblance of vegetation, afforded by the reeds which had lined our route for the last few miles, ceased abruptly some hundred feet behind our stopping place which, in the higher stages of the water, is submerged and forms part of a sandy bar rather formidable to deep-drafted vessels. The boatmen lighted a fire on the sand, and a table cloth with the apparatus for dinner was arranged in the stern sheets of our boat. After dinner the crew scattered along shore, smoking their pipes, and our steersman, an old voyageur named Magnus Birston, walked to the far extremity of the sandy spit, curiously scrutinising the clouds which were beginning to gather. Having, after some difficulty, satisfied himself that the weather would hold until we could reach the nearest harbour, Birston recalled his men and loosed from shore. The wind blew as favourably as we could wish and carried us swiftly through the Lake. The point at which we had dined quickly became undistinguishable among the long line of apparently exactly similar localities ranging along the low shore. Indeed from the absence of physical irregularity in its neighbourhood, the mouth of the Red River is one of the most difficult spots to be identified by a guide in the long course of the journeys to York or Portage La Loche; and the skill with which the boats are steered, apparently towards nothing but a wilderness of long sedgy grass, until the narrow outlet of Red River stretches out a few dozen yards before the bow, is one of the most striking exhibitions of local knowledge I have observed in the country.

On our left we passed Willow Island, on which, as on the main-

land beyond, trees gradually increasing in size and number, flourished. Of these, Fir was the principal. The land rose higher as we ran northward and all the coast was covered with a thick wood. It was after eight o'clock before we reached the harbour at which our guide had determined to encamp for the night. This was at one of the points of land which jut out into the water, from one to the other of which boats steer in crossing the Lake. When the wind is fair and weather fine boats make very long traverses, keeping so far out that for a considerable time about the middle of the run, neither the point whence they started nor that towards which they are steering, is visible. In calm weather, however, when the oars are used, it is usual to keep closer in shore and make shorter traverses.

The name of our camping place on the evening in question was Drunken River Point, the stream which discharges itself into the lake close to which was so called I understand on account of the proceedings of a party which once passed an evening on its banks. Our boat was pulled up on the beach, composed of smooth flat stones, closely packed by the action of the water, forming a natural causeway along the whole of that portion of the shore. A tent was pitched in a sheltered spot among the bushes a short distance from the beach, and our bedding, after being untied from its protecting oil-cloths, was spread along the ground inside. "Bedding" consists of say three blankets and a pillow. The former are folded lengthways and arranged on an oil cloth, which, when the camp is struck in the morning, is so rolled about them as to form a compact portable bundle, when properly corded, practically impervious to water. The bedding is often unrolled in the stern sheets during the day to serve as a lounge.

Our tent having been pitched, the men dispersed in search of firewood. This is procurable in any quantity at most camping places. It consists of the dried branches found lying up and down the shore and among the woods. These are collected and thrown in a heap to which a light is applied. The kettle is then put on the fire and the canteens are unpacked.

Immediately before the door of our tent was a dismal swamp, filled with black water, over which hovered mosquitoes in multi-

tudes innumerable. To be appreciated, the inconvenience and pain caused by the attacks of these insects must be felt. They swarm in the woods and marshes, and, after lying amid the shade of the bushes during the heat of the day, come abroad in the cool of the evenings making night hideous when no grateful breeze blows for the protection of the traveller. They form in fact one of the chief obstacles to pleasure in summer travelling in Rupert's Land. The boatmen, after working hard for a long hot day, lie down unprotected against them, except by the single blanket which each man is entitled to carry with him, and by the habit of "never minding" them, which with the voyageurs, assisted by the natural effect of the day's fatigue, has become a second nature. The more refined and less "case hardened" travellers suffer severely. In vain are trowsers tightly tied about the ankles and coat sleeves at the wrists, while mosquito veils surround the head. The enemy finds his way in single file through apertures unseen by human eyes and bites without mercy, while his personal escape is secured by the impossibility of effectually hunting him up without making way for the surrounding hosts of his compeers. For the victim, feeding under such circumstances is no easy matter. Independently of the loss of appetite occasioned by the nature of the situation, the veil must be removed so as to afford access to the mouth, and the hands must be uncovered to work the knife, fork and spoon. Sleep is also to be obtained only for a few short and feverish moments at long intervals. The hum and buzz of mosquitoes, which, in dark and living clouds, hover all night round the bushes and the woods, fall with sickening effect upon the partially slumbering senses, while no amount of "smudge fire" can long protect their human victim against corporal assaults. Any attempt to gain repose by concealing oneself under his plaid or blanket is vain, and long before sleep can come the baffled experimenter is compelled to emerge, half smothered, to breathe the sultry air.

Our first night on Lake Winnipeg was trying; mosquitoes swarmed everywhere, in the swamps and woods around, in our tent, bread and butter, teacups, ears and mouths. After smoking his evening pipe, the Governor made a desperate attempt, by



pursuing individual mosquitoes with the candle, so as to burn them up with its flame, as they danced on the sheeting of the tent, to prepare the way for a tolerable night's rest, but morning found us wretched and wide awake. A conference with the steersman brought but little consolation. The wind which had served us so well the day before had calmed away, and heavy clouds lowering around showed signs which warned us not to start. A very aggravating incident of travel occurs under these circumstances. Detention in some possibly disagreeable locality, the neighbourhood of which is a scene of tangled woods or morasses, oozing with dirty marshy water, barring all progress through them, for an indefinite period of time, until the wind may change or sign appear in the clouds that the weather will keep fair until we can reach the nearest harbour. Winnipeg, like all the great lakes, is liable to be visited with sudden storms which, taking a boat by surprise, while in process of making a long traverse, might be followed by fatal results. The coast, generally speaking, offers only a few convenient harbours for small boats, which are of course well known to the boatmen. These are usually within a few hours' sail of each other, and are, in some parts of the lake, more numerous than in others. In the event of a boat being overtaken by a sudden tempest, it is sometimes necessary to make for the nearest land, and "beach her," carrying herself and cargo ashore by main force, often over a considerable length of breaker-washed sands. Such a contingency as this does not occasion much caution when a brigade of boats sail in company, and in the event of a disaster happening to one of them, it might be assisted by the rest; but in a case such as ours, when one boat is travelling alone, the steersman is always very cautious and slow to leave a good harbour when the weather appears unsettled. Sometimes the signs which, to his accustomed eye, call for delay, are invisible to the uneducated organs of his passengers, who, when imprisoned in an inconvenient camp, are apt to get impatient to continue their voyage.

The forenoon was well advanced before the crew, who had spent the night in much discomfort on the stony beach, struck our tent and conveyed the baggage on board preparatory to making a start.

The wind was slightly ahead, but not too much so, to prevent us making tolerable progress with the oars. Our object was to reach "Big Black Island," a spot about twenty miles from our night's camp. The water through which the boat ran was so very thickly strewn with drowned grasshoppers that we hoped the strong south winds of the preceding days had cleared the settlement of these pests, but afterwards found that no appreciable diminution of their numbers had taken place. A heavy rain fell during our morning run, from which we were protected by boat oil-cloths stretched over our stern sheets, but the wind, which freshened up, rendered it impossible for us to make fair time. On reaching Big Island, therefore, a large one marked on the maps, near the western shore of the Lake, we put into harbour and pitched our tent ashore. After dinner there was nothing to be done but walk about and examine the vegetable and animal life about our camp. This pursuit, in which the Governor was perfectly at home, on this, as on other occasions, turned the tedium of detention into the pursuit of scientific observation. The specimens of objects illustrative of natural history which Mr. Mactavish has collected during his numerous voyages are vast in variety and bulk. Those which have been chiefly gathered in Lake Winnipeg are of the order of "Coleoptera," or beetles.

Near our camp a Christian ex-conjuror named "Jacob" arrived in his small canoe during the afternoon, and traded with us some ducks he had killed for a little tobacco. Solitary parties of Indians constantly turn up in this way. With their light bark canoes they are perfectly independent, and rove through the lake, occupying themselves in hunting and fishing. Sometimes the party consists of an Indian alone, at other times of himself and family, and again only of women and children, the latter safely slung in their "Moss bags" over the shoulders of the former. A present is generally expected, but an ounce of tobacco is considered satisfactory, and an exchange of a little pemmican in return for their white fish and ducks, is anxiously desired. When an officer is travelling, he often accedes to the latter desire, but it is an article in the engagement of all tripmen that they shall on no occasion enter into any such traffic. This was necessitated by the

extravagant manner in which the crews used, when on the voyage, to distribute their travelling provisions for fish and fowl, the amount of the latter received bearing no equitable proportion to the value of the former given away.

After tea the wind veered round to such an extent that we were enabled to proceed on our journey to "Grassy Narrows," a place about five miles further on, being that at which the house was situated where Captain Sennett was described, in last chapter, as having arrived in great misery one night during the preceding winter. The evening was beautiful, the rain had ceased, and as the boat was borne along by the gently favouring breeze the sail was most enjoyable. We did not encamp ashore that night, but had the boat-tent, or awning, fitted up over the stern sheets and slept on board. By this arrangement, in the event of a favourable breeze blowing at day-break, the crew might pursue their journey, without disturbing us. This is a common plan with officers when travelling, but the Governor usually gave up the boat to the men during the night so that they might be further removed from the mosquitoes and better prepared for their work on the ensuing day, during which passengers may make up for a night's sleeplessness. Under this system, then, the steersman occupied the sternsheets, while the crew, by arranging their mast and oars lengthways over the boat and stretching oil-cloths over the framework so formed, turned the vessel into one long snug tent in which they could rest with comfort. This device is called a "tanley," the word being corrupted from the French "tendre-le."

During the evening at Grassy Narrows, however, the crew slept ashore in the open air, and as a gentle wind blew all night, we were but little annoyed by mosquitoes. "Tired Nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep" so difficult to be procured the preceding night, came to our aid, and when we woke early next morning, we found the steersman at his post, the sail hoisted, and our boat slowly making way, favoured by a southerly breeze, several miles from the spot where we had stopped the night before. We breakfasted at Little Grindstone Point, and in the afternoon, passing Great Grindstone Point, we dined at the Bull's Head. The latter is the place where the Lake begins to get narrow, and between it

and the Dog's Head, where the distance from the western to the eastern shore is not more than two miles, the landscape is very fine.

The south-western coast of the Lake, along which our course had run, gradually rises from the low swampy country about the mouth of the Red River to a level of fifty or sixty feet above the Lake, and the bold promontories, the names of the principal of which I have mentioned, stretch into the waters out of which they rise perpendicularly, densely pine-wooded to their edges, and exhibiting in many instances their ribbed layers of soft, crumbling sandstone, bared by the action of time and the elements. At the base of these cliffs there is just landing room to afford facilities for lighting a fire and performing the necessary routine of a boat encampment. Towards the Bull's Head, the eastern shore of Lake Winnipeg, which had previously been out of sight, slopes rapidly within view, and between that point and the Dog's Head, being a distance of about twelve miles, the belt of water may be described as a strait.

The western coast of this strait is a succession of high-wooded promontories such as those already described, while the eastern shore is rocky and indented by a multitude of small islands and promontories covered with wood; but not rising high above the water level. It is full of good harbours for small craft. It is also one of the finest parts of the Lake, and is much frequented by Indians, of whom we saw a camp on the most northerly point called the Dog's Head. An island called "Black Bear Island" lies out in the lake, immediately to the north west of the narrow belt or strait, its dark, wood-covered, high-lying attitude exactly harmonizing with the neighbouring cliffs on the mainland, of which from a distance it appears to form one.

After passing the Dog's Head, our course, which has previously skirted the south-western coast, lies along the north-eastern shore of the Lake. The same differences observable between the physical characteristics of the two sides of the strait, hold good between the corresponding shores of the entire Lake. The whole route from Dog's Head to Norway House runs from point to point of deep bays. Round the extremities of the promontories

isolated islands of granite rocks, partially wooded, are scattered, which, with the numerous sunken rocks lying among them, render the navigation somewhat intricate.

The same evening we reached Rabbit Point, as the first headland after leaving Dog's Head is called. Long before arriving at it the opposite shore, which runs away directly to the west, immediately after the Dog's Head has been doubled, was quite out of sight and the vast lake extended to the uttermost verge of the horizon. After supper the evening was so fine, we decided on sleeping in the open air; but about two in the morning were awakened by the man who came to warn us that a storm was coming on. Retiring to the tent, we slept soundly all the rest of the night. This was the most satisfactory night we had passed. A brisk breeze kept off the mosquitoes, not one of which was to be seen, and fanned men to sleep, even had they been indisposed, which, after the experiences of the previous two nights, nobody was.

Next day, favoured by the winds, we made a good run and reached a place called Leaf River Point. Here we were overtaken by a severe storm during the night which was pitch dark. The crew unloaded and beached the boat, while our tent was blown about our ears, and our clothes and bedding drenched with rain. The next day we lay unable to get out of our harbour, in consequence of a magnificent wind which rendered the boat unmanageable by the oars. This was extremely provoking, as if we could only have cleared the harbour, the wind was the most favourable we could have desired. Our blankets were hung on the bushes to dry, and the steersman marched solemnly to and fro, curiously examining, with twisted neck and upturned eye, the signs of the weather, and presenting, with his long blue great-coat and cautious gait, a somewhat quaint and antiquated spectacle. His reflections on his own short-sightedness in taking us into so land-locked a locality the night before, were probably anything but pleasant. In the course of the afternoon we saw six magnificent white pelicans, their graceful sweep and rapid regular flight through the air being very striking.

The next day being Sunday, the 18th of June, we got forward



where we dined. Playgreen Lake is very thickly studded with little islands which conceal the real margin of the lake from unaccustomed eyes. Pushing forward through the tortuous and narrow channel formed by an unbroken succession of these islands, we reached Norway House about eight o'clock in the evening, after a journey from Lower Fort Garry of ten days.

A few minutes before turning the point which brought us in sight of the Fort we halted, while our men exchanged their rough working jackets for others more clean and creditable according to received opinions. The flag-staff which had lain neglected in an obscure corner of the boat since being unshipped, when we stopped to dine at the mouth of the Red River, was again mounted at the stern and decorated with the Ensign, so that when Mr. Chief Factor Grahame, the gentleman in charge at Norway House, accompanied by a considerable group of councillors, whose arrival had preceded ours, came down to the wharf or "Launch" to meet us, we were enabled to present, as a body, a somewhat imposing appearance. Our men had been pulling between two o'clock in the morning and eight in the evening, with only the intervals allowed for breakfast and dinner, and had performed a day's run of about fifty miles. It was the only severe day's labour they had experienced during the voyage, we having been previously either assisted or entirely delayed by the wind.

During the three weeks we passed at Norway House the scene of bustle usual on such occasions was kept briskly up. Brigades of inland district boats passed downwards to York Factory, there to deliver their furs and receive their following year's supplies of goods, while officers were collected from all quarters at Council. Bishop Faraud whose arrival at Red River has been already noticed reached Norway House along with several priests, and, after one or two days delay, resumed his route to his northern diocese in the Portage La Loche boats by which he travelled.

On Sunday, 25th June, we sailed over in a very large party to Rossville, an Indian village at the south-eastern extremity of Playgreen Lake about two miles east from Norway House. On either hand were beautiful rocky islands well wooded, on some of which stood solitary Indian tents. The prevailing character of the main-





establishment, which is one of the most extensive in the Department of which it is the depot for the Inland districts, stands on an elevated rocky promontory and is enclosed by a picketed fence. A large garden within the precincts of the Fort and several fields on the neighbouring islands produce vegetables of various kinds in great perfection. Melons and cucumbers, under the care of a gentleman in charge who understands and interests himself in such matters, flourish in their hot beds, while lettuces, potatoes and other vegetables come to maturity with regularity.

The fishery in Playgreen lake forms one of the principal sources whence food is drawn for the use of the Fort. Sturgeon are caught in great abundance and of excellent quality throughout the summer. A small boat which pays its regular visits to the fishing grounds a few miles from the Fort is called the "Sturgeon Boat." These fish are four or five feet in length, and, stretched in the bottom of the boat, with a rope through their gills, have a very ugly look.

The Athabasca Brigade, in consequence of the remoteness of that district, is the last, except the one called the "Portage La Loche Brigade," which reaches Norway House on its outward voyage. It usually arrives about the 10th July and returns directly from Norway House without proceeding to York, between which places its freighting is performed by other brigades employed for the purpose. Of late years the voyageurs from all the other districts have given up the habit of singing, but those from Athabasca still retain it, and the wild songs, heard long before the boats double the point where first they can be seen from the Fort, are always the first intimations received of their approach. After three or four days' stay at the depot they return to their far home, laden with the goods required for the ensuing winter's trade.

A few days after the arrival of this brigade the Governor, having finished his business, prepared to return to Red River. His own light boat had been sent back to the settlement some days previously, and we took passage in Mr. Chief Factor Christie's Saskatchewan passenger boat, which was then about to visit Red River. Our party consisted of Mr. Christie, Mr. Watt, a clerk in the service, and the Rev. Père Moulin, a Roman Catholic priest who had spent some years in mission work in a very remote and little traversed

land is swampy, communication between the rocky isolated localities being impossible during summer, when locomotion is restricted to that carried on by boats and canoes. The village at Rossville is composed of wooden houses surrounded by small gardens inhabited and cultivated by Christian Indians who hunt in the woods during winter. It is the centre of a Wesleyan mission managed in 1865 by the Rev. Charles Stringfellow.

On the Sunday referred to we attended morning service in Mr. Stringfellow's church at Rossville. It is a large, high, airy building of wood, and was filled with an Indian congregation. The sermon and prayers were in English. Mr. Wesley's hymn book was the one used, and its contents were translated into the Indian language in such measure as to enable singing in Indian and English to proceed together. The singing was led by an Indian preacher named Peter Badger and was most creditably executed, the Indian words being quite noticeable in the volume of sound, though the majority apparently sang in English. Throughout the country the Indians generally speaking sing well. In Red River Settlement the best music is heard in Indian churches; indeed the psalmody in all the others is grossly deficient, the congregations being apparently as incapable of song as afraid to hear themselves read the regular responses. Nor is it only in churches the Indian converts distinguish themselves in this way. Boats manned by Christians, both Anglican and Methodist, generally have a steersman or other on board competent to conduct prayers, which is done with exemplary regularity each evening after arriving in camp. A year after the date to which I allude the Cumberland Mission boat on its way to Red River landed to prepare supper at a short distance from the spot where the Governor's boat lay wind-bound near the Dog's Head, and I had an opportunity of seeing the Indian service as performed by the crew, the melodious hum of the music coming from a little distance being the first intimation I received of what was going on. The Rev. Mr. Hunt, of the Church Missionary Society, had the credit of being the first to bring out and cultivate this faculty of the Indians connected with the Church of England missions in the country.

The houses at Norway House are built entirely of wood. The

establishment, which is one of the most extensive in the Department of which it is the depot for the Inland districts, stands on an elevated rocky promontory and is enclosed by a picketed fence. A large garden within the precincts of the Fort and several fields on the neighbouring islands produce vegetables of various kinds in great perfection. Melons and cucumbers, under the care of a gentleman in charge who understands and interests himself in such matters, flourish in their hot beds, while lettuces, potatoes and other vegetables come to maturity with regularity.

The fishery in Playgreen lake forms one of the principal sources whence food is drawn for the use of the Fort. Sturgeon are caught in great abundance and of excellent quality throughout the summer. A small boat which pays its regular visits to the fishing grounds a few miles from the Fort is called the "Sturgeon Boat." These fish are four or five feet in length, and, stretched in the bottom of the boat, with a rope through their gills, have a very ugly look.

The Athabasca Brigade, in consequence of the remoteness of that district, is the last, except the one called the "Portage La Loche Brigade," which reaches Norway House on its outward voyage. It usually arrives about the 10th July and returns directly from Norway House without proceeding to York, between which places its freighting is performed by other brigades employed for the purpose. Of late years the voyageurs from all the other districts have given up the habit of singing, but those from Athabasca still retain it, and the wild songs, heard long before the boats double the point where first they can be seen from the Fort, are always the first intimations received of their approach. After three or four days' stay at the depot they return to their far home, laden with the goods required for the ensuing winter's trade.

A few days after the arrival of this brigade the Governor, having finished his business, prepared to return to Red River. His own light boat had been sent back to the settlement some days previously, and we took passage in Mr. Chief Factor Christie's Saskatchewan passenger boat, which was then about to visit Red River. Our party consisted of Mr. Christie, Mr. Watt, a clerk in the service, and the Rev. Père Moulin, a Roman Catholic priest who had spent some years in mission work in a very remote and little traversed

part of the country, and who was on his way to pass a few days at St Boniface.

A fleet of more than a dozen boats accompanied us on our way to Red River. About eight of these were connected with the Saskatchewan district the crews of which rejoiced in the name of "Blaireaux," or Badgers, from the number of these animals abounding in their district. They were distinguished from the rest of the flotilla by a large bunch of horsehair attached to one of the upper corners of the square sail of each boat.

Starting on the afternoon of Saturday, 15th July, the fleet pulled over the first twenty miles of the journey and we camped on the sandy shore of Lake Winnipeg close to the site of Old Norway House. Next morning, on issuing from the tent in which Mr. Watt and myself had passed the night, one of the first objects which encountered my observation was our French steersman kneeling alone, as if engaged in prayer, before the little tent occupied by the Rev. Père Moulin. On walking along the sands to the spot, I found the priest's tent fitted up with a small portable altar so as to serve as a temporary chapel, while the Rev. gentleman himself was in the act of finishing his morning Mass. Assisted by the steersman he disrobed and packed his apparatus, which fitted with admirable precision and method into a box arranged for the purpose. A short walk up and down the sands was followed by breakfast in our boat.

The day was Sunday, the voyageur's rule regarding the observance of which is, when a fair wind blows, to take advantage of it and proceed on the journey, but, in the event of calm weather, such as would necessitate pulling, to remain in camp. The morning in question was calm and we adopted the latter alternative. Mr. Watt and I saw a good deal of Père Moulin during the day. He spoke English very fairly indeed, and, being a merry, jocular person, somewhat under the medium height, was quite an acquisition to the party. In the evening religious services were held. A large Protestant congregation, under direction of some competent church member among the crews, held a Presbyterian service on the sands, while, a short distance apart, Père Moulin, surrounded by his French half-breed adherents, sang Vespers and

repeated a variety of prayers, in the responses to which he was loudly supported by his party.

Early on Monday morning we put off, favoured by a steady wind which commenced to blow gently from the north. As the day wore on it increased to a gale and our flotilla spread to a great distance over the Lake as it became quite a matter of rivalry between the boats which should get ahead. The boats used in Rupert's Land possess only one sail, which is large and square. Though all are rigged in exactly the same manner, there are great diversities in their sailing speed, proceeding from difference in mould and, in our case, from unequal loadings. The spectacle in these regions of seventeen or eighteen boats under full sail, some disappearing on the horizon's edge in front while others dragged themselves slowly along in the rear, was as cheerful as it was unusual.

Camping at Fox's Point, we started early the next morning and made in the course of the day a very unusually fine run of more than a hundred miles, arriving in the evening at Rabbit Point, where we remained during the few hours of darkness which intervened until, at day-break on Wednesday, we were again in motion. The magnificent gale from the north kept up and enabled us to exceed even the preceding day's run, so that towards evening we found ourselves scudding towards the mouth of the Red River, the bar of which was covered with water driven up by the settled north winds which had served us so well. After a somewhat critical passage over the bar, during the performance of which all the steersmen behaved very well indeed, though the crew of at least our boat gave unequivocal symptoms of fear of mischief, we were floating in safety up the placid narrow channel of the low, reedy-banked Red River of the north. The spot where we had dined on the first day of our outward journey was entirely under water, and the manner in which our steersmen had conducted their boats clear of shoals through the roaring breakers was most creditable to their skill and nerve.

A few score yards up the stream the boats ran along shore while the crews, quickly effecting clearances among the long high reeds, collected firewood and set the kettles boiling. While

endeavouring to regain our land legs after the short chopping **toss** to which we had been subjected during our sail, we congratulated ourselves on the wonderfully good fortune which had attended the journey, the period of which could now be foretold within a few hours. The crews as usual, on the last night of the trip hailed with joy the approaching day of freedom and permission to take their ease of a morning in their own homes, undisturbed by the cry to rise and man the boats at daylight. The interest with which the trip is looked forward to, and the pleasure with which its end is welcomed are apparently antagonistic sentiments, but both are real among the voyageurs. The change of scene and employment experienced in travelling outweighs the inconveniences the memory of which enables men to appreciate a settled home on their return. The fatigue and open air employment and exercise are notably health inspiring, their good effect being evident from the appearance of the returning travellers and tripmen. Vast quantities of pemmican, which is of course supplied at discretion, are consumed by the boatmen, whose appetites are in no way affected for the worse by the extreme heats of the Summer season.

The consumption of tea in the country is enormous. The Company's annual importation of the article for the Northern department alone, amounts to more than a hundred thousand pounds in weight. Smoking is another feature of the country, the importation of all kinds of tobacco for use in the same department exceeding fifty thousand pounds in weight. The delay which would be occasioned were the desires of the men with reference to tea-drinking to be indulged, renders guides and steersmen peremptory in opposing the ever renewed proposition that the boat should be hauled to, and the kettle put on the fire, whenever an inviting promontory hospitably extends itself along their route. With regard to smoking, when engaged in rowing a rest of about ten minutes each hour is allowed the men, which is usually passed in the enjoyment of the pipe.

With regard to the general geographical features of the lake, a summer journey over which we have just been contemplating, Professor Henry Youle Hind, in the published maps of his expeditions gives the following figures: Winnipeg is situated about

six hundred and twenty eight feet above the level of the sea. Its greatest length is two hundred and eighty statute miles, breadth fifty seven miles, superficial area eight thousand five hundred and thirty seven square miles, and length of coast line nine hundred and thirty miles.

Mosquitoes and "bulldogs," or the English "gadflies," are the principal annoyances to be encountered in crossing this lake. In the rivers towards Hudson's Bay, sandflies are exceedingly troublesome. They are most annoying during the day, whereas the mosquito finds his element amid the cool shades of the summer night. The stings of both are venomous and very painful. The bulldog, on the contrary, relies for the effect of his attack on the mechanical force of his jaws and seldom fails to draw blood in streams alarmingly copious as the work of a creature of his size. Means exist whereby mosquitoes may be pretty effectually guarded against during the night, but as the arrangements requisite for hanging up the tent mosquito net are somewhat complicated, it is not generally used except in cases of necessity.

The arrangement of details in the management of his brigade, during the journey at present referred to, had been superintended by Mr. Chief Factor Christie, with whom I have since repeatedly made the same trip, and have here to record that, on all such occasions, the conspicuous zeal displayed by that gentleman to secure the comfort of his fellow travellers, and the general prosperity of the voyage, has been rewarded with signal success.

As tea was being prepared, Indians from their neighbouring fishing grounds came paddling in their canoes round our boat, which, though small, towered high out of the water when floating alongside these frail and tiny craft. They gave us all the news from the settlement whence we had received no intelligence for some weeks. In return they got small presents of pemmican and tobacco. Père Moulin who, though messing along with us, had travelled in one of the other boats, now came on board, and we sat down to supper, while the boat which had been once more unloosed, progressed leisurely up stream, impelled by the now falling wind. Evening gave way to night, and still we slowly drifted along. The Père, whose spirits apparently rose with the emergency, amused us

by the relation of some souvenirs of Life at the Theological Seminary at which he had graduated in France, accompanying his stories with chucklings and gesticulations which proved the strong hold the events had retained on his memory. Towards morning the wind died away and we remained stationary. Boat after boat dragged its way up after us. Père Moulin, so soon as that by which he had travelled came within hail, quitted us to see after his luggage, and we arranged ourselves as best we could to get an uneasy nap in our contracted quarters. At day-break the crew began to pull and soon we reached the Indian Settlement of St. Peter. At six o'clock in the morning I was wakened to find the men in the act of pulling in their oars, as the boat reached the landing place at Lower Fort Garry.

As usual, the events of even a few weeks presented topics of interest. It was the season during which scarlet fever raged so severely in the settlement, and, among the items of information we received on our arrival, were the intimations of not a few deaths, the most marked of which perhaps was that of Mr. Bruneau, the magistrate already referred to in a previous chapter.

At Lower Fort Garry we were virtually at home. In the course of the day Father Moulin got a passage in a buggy to the Upper Settlement, and after a very few days spent with his friends at St. Boniface, returned to Norway House on his way to his remote inland Mission station. Messrs. Christie and Watt, after a few days spent in arranging their Red River affairs, started westward across the Plains, on their way to their head-quarters at Edmonton in Saskatchewan.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

1865.

The North West Cricket Club—Journey to Canada—Prairie travel —  
Reverends Messrs. Bompas and Gardiner—Subsequent Northern  
career of Mr. Bompas—Pembina—Georgetown—Fort Abercrombie—  
Archdeacon Cochran—Return Autumn Journey to Red River.

DURING our absence in the interior the members of the cricket club had been diligently employed in the exercise of the fine game, the practice of which was publicly understood to be the prime object of their association. The following "communication" addressed to, and duly published in, the "Nor' Wester," gives an account of the first grand assemblage of the season :

### NORTH WEST CRICKET CLUB.

"The opening game of the season of 1865 was played in a spirited manner on the ground at Fort Garry on Saturday last, when the new bats were fairly tested and found excellent. A large number of the old members were present, also several new ones. We had to regret the absence from illness and other causes of several of our best players, among others our secretary, who, we were sorry to learn, was going to leave us for a time. At the commencement of the game a splendid bat, the gift of our worthy member, W. McMurray, Esq., of Fort Alexander, was presented to the club, followed by a vote of thanks to the donor. William Sinclair, Esq., of Brockville, Canada West, at which place he is president of a club, honoured the field with his presence, and showed his appreciation of the game in a most acceptable manner to the members present. The club elected Mr. Sinclair an honorary member for life, amid loud acclamations.

"It is pleasing to see how popular the noble game is becoming in Red River, and now that we are so well furnished with all the requisites for play, it is to be hoped that, on field days, all the

members will endeavor to be present and as many as possible attend most every evening for practice.

The new bats were sent to the above extent instead of a development imported from the States, to replace a number which during the preceding autumn had accumulated under the natural effects of the moisture upon the wood of which they were manufactured, which had become brittle and dry in consequence of long disease and careless storage. The manner, so acceptable to the members, in which retired Chief Factor Sinclair, then on a short visit to the colony, had evinced his appreciation of the efforts of the cricketers, was by the present of a gallon of sherry, procured and drunk upon the field. The old gentleman had, I am informed, very nearly reason to regret his liberality. Before he left the ground, a ball, the batsman responsible for the career of which probably had a mind to test the relative superiority of the new over the old instruments, passed so swiftly and so close to his spectacles that he did not see it until, to the consternation of the field, a taller friend standing close beside him, dropped upon the ground with horrible gasps and discoloured face, consequent on having received the missile on his ribs.

Evening practice of the most legitimate nature possible was, as the "Nor' Wester" recommended, regularly and zealously kept up by the residents in Fort Garry and its immediate neighbourhood throughout the summer. But the gradual departure of members, and indifference on the part of the remainder, again interfered with the prosperity of the undertaking, and no regular course of meetings has been held since the date to which I have just been referring.

Early on the afternoon of Monday, 7th August, I started from Fort Garry on a journey to Canada. I travelled with Mr. Chief Factor Clare, who was going to visit the post at Georgetown where the steamer "International" then lay idle. Chief Trader Hacklund, the gentleman in charge of Pembina, rode with us as far as that place. Our means of locomotion consisted of saddle and spare horses, a buggy and a Red River cart. In the latter our bedding, canteen and stores were transported. It was driven by one servant, while a second sufficed to perform the other duties con-

nected with the party. After crossing the Assiniboine at the ferry we proceeded along the western bank of the Red River. The weather was excessively warm, and the brushwood, through which our well-beaten track ran, proved a welcome shade. After having passed over about ten miles we reached the confines of the "bush" and emerged on the sweeping level prairie. We dined in camp by the Red River bank at Pointe Coupée. The process of preparation for meals was much the same as that described as having taken place at the camping places on Lake Winnipeg; but, as there were now only two men instead of eight to do the work of water drawing and firewood collecting, and as the horses required some time to rest during the heat of the day, the halting times were generally much longer than those of boat travelling. After dinner we continued our ride to a place called Rapid Croix about twenty-five miles from Fort Garry, where we camped for the night.

Our bedding was stretched out round the camp fire and after supper we "turned in." Under these circumstances the process of undressing is simple and, to use Mr. Hackland's pithy expression, "we sleep as we run." The coat is folded up and arranged under or instead of the pillow; the moccasins are stowed among the grass underneath the oil cloth of the bedding in order to save them from saturation by the dews, and the traveller goes to sleep. The horses, whose two fore feet are confined by "hopples," which prevent them straying to any serious distance, limp about all night, grazing in the neighbourhood of the slumbering camp.

After a night's sleep, rendered restless by the persevering attacks of the mosquitoes, we rose at four o'clock in the morning to resume our way. A very heavy dew had fallen and the grass was very wet. The horses were unhoppled and saddled and the bedding tied up and thrown into the luggage cart, which started, leading the march at the regular jog-trot pace of the prairie, followed by riders, buggy, and spare horses, in single file, forming quite a considerable procession. Shortly after getting shaken into regular work we came in sight of a camp of travellers at some distance ahead. On riding up, we found it to be that of the Revs. Messrs. Bompas and Gardiner, two clergymen connected with the Church Missionary Society on their way to the settlement.



the day after his lordship's own consecration. As the career of Mr. Bompas in the North has come more prominently before my attention than that of any other labourer in the same field, I shall here pause to record a few of its more prominent features.

Intelligence of the ill health of the missionary at the remote Arctic station of the Youcon having reached England, an eloquent appeal was made to the clergy by Dr. Anderson, the retiring Bishop of Rupert's Land, asking for a successor to the former. Mr. Bompas at once offered himself, and, having resigned a highly eligible position in Lincolnshire, started from England within a few days after his ordination, in the hope that, though the season was far advanced, he might yet succeed in reaching the remote interior before the closing in of winter. After a residence of only one day in Red River Settlement, he embarked in a boat going across Lake Winnipeg, and, by a series of fortunate though unforeseen opportunities, succeeded in reaching Fort Chipewyan in Athabasca district, in the beginning of November. Though urged to remain, as the winter was fast closing in, he decided on pushing forward, and started down the Slave River in a bark canoe manned by two Indians, the newly formed ice drifting down the current in large floes. At forty miles from Fort Resolution he quitted the canoe and performed that distance on foot.

When the ice had formed Mr. Bompas went forward to Fort Simpson by dog-trains. Here a Church of England mission was established, and he remained during the winter with the Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Kirkby, learning the Slave language, and visiting distant camps of Indians. The missionary at the Youcon, the Rev. Robt. McDonald, to replace whom Mr. Bompas had originally been appointed, having recovered his health, the latter turned his attention to other quarters. On the outbreak of spring, 1866, he visited Great Bear Lake to superintend an out-mission established there some years previously, and, till then, conducted by a catechist named John Hope. In spite of the severity of the climate and the scarcity of food Mr. Bompas, during the winter of 1866-67, as was his invariable habit, travelled from one Indian camp to another, and, assisted by his skill as a linguist, is said to have worked very effectively. He then performed a most trying

and arduous snow shoe journey across land from Great Bear Lake to Fort Rae, on the northern shore of Great Slave Lake, where he remained until July, 1867.

Mr. Bompas then returned to Athabasca, where no Protestant mission had, till then, been established. Taking up his headquarters at Fort Chipewyan he visited Fort Vermillion, on Peace River, during the ensuing winter. In May, 1868, he again went north to Fort Simpson to succeed Mr. Kirkby in charge of the mission there.

During his residence in the north Mr. Bompas has translated considerable portions of Scripture in the Slave language, selecting, more especially for this purpose, such simple passages of the Gospels as he could bring within the grasp of the Indian mind.

The vast distance intervening between England and the scenes of her Indian missions, combined with all the pomp of music and eloquence with which their claims are frequently presented to the imagination of a Church-going British public, has been imagined by some people, cognizant of the prosaic reality, "to lend enchantment to the view." The suddenness with which Mr. Bompas resolved to devote himself to the missionary life did, I believe, seem to certain of the latter class to indicate a zeal nearly allied to indiscretion. The foregoing narrative ought, however, to vouch for his reality of purpose, which is spoken of by all, and which has stood the test of hunger, exposure, and arctic cold.

The fact that Roman Catholicism had already been pretty extensively and firmly planted, more especially in Athabasca, through the agency sketched in Chapter X, put Mr. Bompas in a position of much delicacy and difficulty, as regards the priests of that persuasion, with whom he is reported to have come repeatedly into violent collision. This I suspect to be almost inevitable; but, except in so far as he was compelled, in the conscientious execution of his duty, to recommend the faith of his Church to the favour of the Indian, the hostility was not of his seeking. The fact that he is a bachelor, unaccompanied by a family, gives him a liberty of locomotion, and a degree of independence on surrounding circumstances, most advantageous to the success of his pursuits. For instance, a couple of blankets constituted the amount of luggage he

took to the North in 1865. The remainder of his effects he was compelled, in default of freighting accommodation, to leave behind. The only alternative would have been to defer his journey for a year.

It is believed that his ability and secular knowledge, when applied to the facts coming daily under his observation, constitute Mr. Bompas an authority in everything connected with Northern Indian Missions, of a very high and reliable order. His popularity at the Company's posts, where he lectured on the "Six Thousand Years of the World's History" and similar subjects, is, of course, very great.

On the morning when Mr. Clare and myself met them the party was just preparing to start on their last stage towards the settlement, and, to an unaccustomed traveller like myself, the contents of their tea-kettle, which was in full working order on the fire, in the centre of the camp, came at a very seasonable time. It is currently reported that mosquitoes attack strangers on their arrival with greater virulence than those who have passed some seasons in the country. I can only hope that Mr. Bompas has since experienced the truth of this statement, for he was most severely bitten when I met him. His fellow traveller seemed to have escaped more easily.

After a few minutes' detention we resumed our ride to overtake our party, the very considerable distance ahead which it had attained rendering it necessary for us to use much diligence to come up with it, and bringing out the real speed with which we were getting over the ground, under an apparently leisurely jog-trot. After riding about four hours we halted for breakfast at Scratching River, and in the course of the afternoon reached Pembina.

On the ensuing morning we resumed our route southwards. Mr. Hackland remained at Pembina, while Mr. Clare, discarding his buggy, betook himself to the saddle. The road was travelled by numerous parties of settlers on their return homewards from St. Paul, some journeying in light buggies, others accompanied by trains of their heavy freight carts. The same routine was pursued as on the preceding days, no incident occurring to vary the

monotony of travel. Numerous prairie chickens flew about our track, some of which we shot and used as food. The quantity of game on the prairie is so great that an ordinarily expert traveller may provision his party with his gun as he goes along. Early in the afternoon we halted for the night.

At day-break, about three o'clock next morning, we were again on the track. After a pretty successful day's travel we halted close to an old camp, deserted by its party of Black Crow Indians. After a tolerable night's rest we again started at 3 a.m. and travelled over the sixty or seventy miles which separated us from Georgetown, reaching that place a few minutes before six o'clock in the evening. Crossing the Red River at the ferry established at the spot, we found the tenants of the steamer "International" sitting down to supper, at which we joined them, in the saloon, happy once again to be permitted to eat without being eaten by the flies.

After passing the Saturday at Georgetown, Mr. Clare started on Sunday afternoon on his return to Fort Garry, by the same route over which we had travelled together. On Monday morning I had succeeded in getting a passage by a private cart to Fort Abercrombie, which I reached the same evening. Instead of the troop of regulars, under Colonel Day, by which this place had been garrisoned during my previous visit with Mr. Morgan, Lieutenant Colonel Adams, with a volunteer force, now occupied it. A wayside inn, kept by a person named McAulay, now flourished among the woods on the bank of the river opposite the Fort. This was surrounded by a variety of smaller log houses, forming a small scattered street, along which braziers filled with "smudge fires" disgorged cloudy volumes of smoke among which cattle and men sought shelter from the flies. The blue uniforms, isolated specimens of which had been visible since leaving Georgetown, at which a detachment was quartered, reminded the traveller that he was in the neighbourhood of a garrisoned place; but silence, broken only by the tones of an occasional voice, reigned as night fell, and the grey smoke curled up among the trees whose large trunks and leafy branches towered aloft into the gloom, lighted with the fitful glare of sputtering fires. About nightfall



an officer from the Fort, accompanied by a party of three soldiers, made his appearance. Sending his men on their round to beat up stragglers from the garrison who might be skulking outside after hours, the gallant Lieutenant stepped into the common room of the inn to refresh himself with the beer there exposed for sale. This common room was used as a general store and formed the public rendezvous of all the neighbourhood. The sleeping accommodation lay overhead, and was contained in a vast loft, furnished with two rows of large "double beds," an entire one of which was kindly set apart for my use. Two large book-cases, filled with books, stood at one end of the chamber. Among their contents, I remember only a large American edition of "Josephus." Access to this establishment was obtained by a "trap stair," leading directly from the general store below.

One entire Tuesday, I spent in this place. The society was almost altogether military from the Fort, whence soldiers were ever arriving, to drink beer and lounge through the time. The men were perfectly orderly and quiet, apparently also drilled into very creditable practical acquaintance with the military art. A painful event had within two or three days previously occurred at the inn. The clerk of the store was engaged in cleaning a "revolver" pistol, one barrel at least which was unknown to him loaded. By some accident this barrel was discharged, the bullet taking fatal effect in the body of the clerk's own father, who was standing close beside him watching the operation. The poor fellow was as might be imagined in great distress of mind.

In the afternoon the stage coach from St. Paul arrived. Among the passengers, to my great surprise, were Archdeacon and Mrs. Cochran, then on their way back to Red River. The Archdeacon told me his health had somewhat failed him in Canada and he thought he could still be of some use in the settlement, and had resolved to come back. On the ensuing morning he secured a passage in the mail gig on its way to Pembina by Georgetown. The driver on presenting himself at the hour of starting, gave unequivocal symptoms of having indulged too freely in stimulating drinks. Mounting his gig, he gave up its only two seats to his passengers, and standing very unsteadily before them, set the

vehicle in motion. The last glance we caught of the party, he was ~~looming~~ swaying from side to side as the gig jolted its rapid way over the irregular track leading through the belt of woods, closely followed by the military escort of three soldiers charged to protect the mail against the Sioux. We subsequently heard that the Archdeacon reached Pembina after a very unpleasant journey, but without encountering any such accident as might have been apprehended from the presumptive character of his charioteer.

A few minutes after the departure of the Archdeacon towards the West, the stage coach about to start for the East appeared before the inn door. My fellow passengers were Colonel Mark Downie, a United States officer who had passed through the southern war, then just closed, a medical gentleman attached to one of the regiments quartered along our route, and Mr. Edmund R. Abell, the engineer of the "International" then on his way home to St. Cloud. An escort of three soldiers accompanied the stage to "Old Crossing," which we reached towards noon, and where we dined. For a long time previously this escort system had been merely a formality, the Sioux having been entirely driven from the neighbourhood, and was continued chiefly, I believe, with the object of finding employment for the military. Between "Old Crossing" and Pomme de Terre we travelled unescorted, but in perfect security. The solitary prairie tavern which had stood at the latter place in 1861 had given way to a palissaded military station, where a small body of troops was quartered, in the interior of which was the inn at which we were now accommodated.

The next day we dined at Alexandria, where the first symptoms of general settlement became visible, and in the evening reached Sank Centre, where, instead of at Kandottah, the stage now put up. This also was a military station, but the settlement of the country in its neighbourhood had, notwithstanding the discouraging effects of the Sioux war, made great progress within a few years. On Friday evening we reached St. Cloud, then a fair sized prairie town, and on Saturday evening arrived at St. Paul. The railway which now connects the two latter places was in working order, at the time to which I refer, only between Elk River and

St. Paul or only about half the distance. But even this effected a vast change in comparison with the state of matters in 1861, when, as will be remembered, the journey was entirely performed by stage and occupied about seventeen hours. It was now easily done in nine hours.

After somewhat more than two months spent in places which, to the great public, would present the appearance of every day life, but which, to men whose lives have been passed in Rupert's Land, appeared as the enchanted regions of absolute felicity, where the Steam Engine and the Electric Telegraph work the prosperity of the favoured inhabitants, on Monday, 30th October, I again found myself at St. Paul, westward bound. The party consisted of the Governor of Rupert's Land, who had reached Canada several weeks after myself, Mr. Thomas Taylor, a Chief Trader, Mr. Horace Belanger, a clerk in the Hudson's Bay service, and myself. Stopping during the night of Monday at St. Cloud, of Tuesday at Sank Centre, and of Wednesday at Pomme de Terre, on the afternoon of Thursday we reached Fort Abercrombie, where we found our party of horses and servants waiting us.

On Friday morning, after having spent the night in camp near the Fort, we commenced our ride to Fort Garry. The amount of luggage we carried was greater than had been calculated on by those responsible for the provision of our means of transport, in consequence of it being unknown to the latter that Messrs. Taylor and Belanger, who were respectively an officer on furlough and a clerk on a very short leave of absence, were to return to Red River in the Governor's party. The buggy and cart which waited us were consequently so heavily laden as to become seriously heavy loads for the horses.

The snow, which had fallen during our passage by the steamer up the Mississippi, had prepared us to expect a very unpleasant journey across the Plains. Until reaching Abercrombie, however, we had not experienced bad weather, but on the morning we started thence a bitter north wind began to blow and our party made very poor travelling. In the afternoon the breeze increased and the weather got perceptibly colder. After a very poor day's ride of about thirty miles we encamped close to a deserted house, unte-

started out fairly close the shore measure about sixteen miles from Georgetown. It happened that it was here where we had stopped to change horses for the last time before reaching the latter place in the course of the trip with the exception of which the earlier stages of this voyage are occupied. The present night was very cold, a keen wind blew and snow fell. Our camp however, under shelter of the high river bank, at the base of which it was pitched, warmed by the huge wood fire which blazed in its centre, was all that could be desired in point of comfort.

Next morning we breakfasted at daylight, which was about 7 o'clock in the morning, in strong contrast to the early doings of the preceding August journey from Fort Garry to Georgetown. So soon after breakfast as the horses could be collected and harnessed, we resumed our way. The morning was extremely cold, urged by which perhaps all our horses exerted themselves with great effect, and we got to Georgetown about noon. Here we halted, dined and warmed ourselves in the house of Mr. Probstfield, a farmer at the post where he also acted as temporary agent for the Company. A relay of horses, which had been posted at this place for our use, formed a most welcome addition to our party, and it was with somewhat increased confidence that, after crossing the Red River at the ferry, we again turned our faces northwards. The cold had been so intense that the ice was forming on the river, while immediately after our passage the ferry was to be closed and the boats laid up for the winter. Our afternoon ride was even more successful than that of the morning. The wind fell; the weather got somewhat warmer; and we trotted briskly along with the utmost comfort and enjoyment. We halted and took up our night's quarters on the earthen floor of a small deserted single chambered hut, close to the river's brink, about eighteen miles north from Georgetown.

On Sunday morning we started at the usual time, and after a twenty miles' ride stopped for dinner. Resuming our route, we got over twelve miles more, when we supped at the Coulet des Ormes. Starting thence as evening was closing in, it was determined we should take advantage of the fine weather, and push ahead about twenty five miles further. This distance was performed in darkness.

The long line of our procession moved smartly along, either extremity being invisible from its centre. The prairie fires were raging in the country through which we travelled. At first we caught sight of a fiery line faintly illuminating the far horizon on our front. Gradually, as we advanced, the line expanded into a crescent, extending to the right and left, and instead of one line, a vast number of blazing arcs broke on the sight. As we reached the heart of the conflagration the entire horizon about us was luminous with low burning zones, whence the dark smoke curled aloft into the night. After some time our track passed away from the fires which had been burning in some spots quite close to the wayside, and after a few more miles had been got over, the whole country again assumed the appearance of one crescent and long line of fire which ultimately disappeared in our rear. It was about midnight before we reached Turtle River, a tributary of the Red River, where we camped for the night. The cool weather and the entire absence of mosquitoes were features in our experience on this occasion which, in memory of the evils of summer travel, were thankfully appreciated, permitting as they did, our undisturbed rest at night.

On Monday we reached a spot called Little Poplar Point, about thirty-nine miles from Turtle River. During the night, in consequence of the dry grass and woods in the neighbourhood of our camp being accidentally ignited through the spreading of our fire, we very narrowly escaped a dangerous accident when asleep. On Tuesday, after a morning's ride of twenty-three miles, we arrived at Pembina.

The above distances were those given me by the experienced servants attached to our party. Altogether they make the distance from Georgetown to Pembina one hundred and thirty-seven miles. This, I believe to be wonderfully correct, as the result of "guess work," the distance having been ascertained by the odometer to be one hundred and thirty-nine miles. (Appendix F).

After dining in the Fort we rode on for fifteen miles further, accompanied by Mr. Hackland, the officer in charge at Pembina, and encamped at a spot called "Two Little Points," being the

to the boundary of the municipal district of Pembina, which extends over the town of the country of our vicinity miles as a rule is called *Port Garry*. Although "The Little Prairie" is the original, slender extremity of the settlement, where increased by the Red River, the real town of the municipal portion finds the start of it, and as we were still in the unenclosed prairie, we stayed by the river side as usual.

Next morning after a ten miles ride we came to the first house on the road after leaving Pembina in a place called - *Scratching River*. Here we dined and resumed our journey after a short rest. Mr. Hackland returned to Pembina, and the Governor, anxious to reach home that evening, rode ahead alone and arrived at *Port Garry* as the moon was sinking down to sea at six o'clock. Messrs. Taylor, Benziger and myself rode on more leisurely with the baggage. Increased snows began to increase along our route, and at an early hour after a ride of seventeen miles from *Scratching River* we put up for the evening in a house belonging to a settler named *Martin*. Our horses were taken care of, and ourselves put in possession of the largest room in the house—a long apartment unfurnished except with a large table and some cassettes which served as chairs. Our bedding was stretched out on the floor and we were abandoned to our own devices.

Having virtually reached home at last, we congratulated ourselves on the surprisingly fine weather we had enjoyed on our journey, which, during its earlier stages, had promised to be very disagreeable. Each day had shown an improvement on its predecessor, and the evening in question closed with a magnificent sunset, which finely set off the autumn woods and the fire-blackened prairies stretching away to the West.

On the morning of Thursday, 9th November, after an unusually early breakfast, we were in our saddles at six o'clock. All speed was used to get over the remaining twenty-three miles which separated us from *Port Garry*. The day broke and found us yet on the open prairie. At last we reached the belt of "bush" which stretched back some miles from the river *Assiniboine*. From time to time some familiar land mark appeared as we came in sight of the *Red River* at one or other of its points. After a

short halt to learn the latest news at a little way-side hut, we set forth on our last stage. The high, unsteeped roof of the Cathedral of St. Boniface appeared through a vista in the leafless woods. Horses and riders of our party seemed equally eager to reach their journey's end, and even the tough, shaggy-coated, little Indian pony attached to our luggage-cart galloped with such settled purpose and effect as made the kettles and frying-pans behind him ring as they jolted over the uneven faggot road. At length we cleared the woods at the river bank and reached the ferry, over which we were conveyed, arriving at Fort Garry about eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

The distance between Pembina and Fort Garry, as above given in detail, is sixty-five miles; the actual distance, as it has been measured by the odometer, is sixty-three miles. (Appendix F.)





at what was then called the "Upper Church," and is now the Cathedral of St. John. At the time he died Mr. Cochran was seventy years of age.

On Friday, 13th October, the Right Rev. Dr. Machray, the new Bishop of the Diocese, arrived in Red River Settlement. His Lordship's arrival had been long looked forward to by the people and such of the clergy as had remained in the country who, during the protracted interval of seventeen months which had elapsed since the departure of Dr. Anderson, had missed the personal presence of so important a public man as is the head of the English Church. The Bishop at once assumed charge of the parish of St. John, and took steps to recommence the working of St. John's college, the detailed nature and success of which will be noticed further on.

Among the more important parochial alterations introduced was that of a weekly offertory in all the churches in the colony. The absence of a large and widely-distributed currency had, I presume, been a principal reason for abstaining, except at Communion seasons, from taking some such step at a period long antecedent to the date in question. Of the expediency of raising money among the people for church purposes, more especially in view of the long continued assistance received from the various religious societies in England, there could be no question, and the sustained and steadily increasing sums which have been the result of the system form a guarantee of the desire of the public generally to exhibit liberality in their contributions. The process by which these are levied consists of a ladle, plate, or bag handed by a churchwarden to each individual present at the close of the sermon, whilst some of the offertory sentences are read. The offertory is followed by the prayer for the Church Militant. This system was introduced on the first Sunday in Advent, 1865.

The harvest of 1865 was better than had been anticipated from the ravages of the grasshoppers in spring. Eventually it appeared that the mischief done by these creatures had been chiefly confined to that part of the settlement cultivated by the Scotch farmers, who were probably better able to support the loss than any other portion of the community. The crops in St. Paul's

parish were destroyed. The parts of the colony which had escaped perished between thirty and thirty-five bushels per acre. The aggregate crop had been such that wheat sold for six shillings per bushel, barley, oats, potatoes and peas gave their ordinary returns, while in the important matter of hay the amount secured was large and fully sufficient to meet the demand.

The fall hunts however, turned out a more complete failure than had been known for years. The Sioux driven away from their old hunting grounds, scattered themselves over the country usually hunted by the Red River people, and the buffalo fled before them in large herds. The result was a great scarcity of food among the French Canadian half-breed section of the community, which depends for its subsistence chiefly on the Buffalo hunts. The lake fisheries succeeded as well as usual.

Early in 1866 the Bishop of Rupert's Land set out on his first visitation. Travelling westwards his Lordship touched at Portage La Prairie, Westbourne, and Fairford, thence by the Pass he reached Cumberland and the Nepowewin, returning home by Touchwood Hills and Qu'Appelle Lake. The journey was performed in a dog carriage, and occupied seven weeks. As already casually mentioned in Chapter IX, the Bishop confirmed one hundred and fifty-five individuals at the twelve stations visited in the course of his tour. He returned to Red River on 5th March, 1866.

The Governor also paid a visit to England in the spring, leaving Red River early in March, and returning on his way to Norway House among the first days in June. During his absence Judge Black was invested with the local jurisdiction of Governor of Assiniboia.

About the autumn of 1865 it had become publicly rumoured that gold existed in paying quantities about Vermilion Lake, in the north of the State of Minnesota. The exact position of this lake is said to be about 70 miles north from the west end of Lake Superior. By the only practicable summer route the auriferous region was about 285 miles from St. Paul, over 145 miles of which the travelling was performed in canoes, and the water communication was interrupted by frequent portages, some of which were several miles in length. During winter, however, a road existed,

by which the distance from St. Paul was only 218 miles, the 145 miles of water communication being replaced by a winter road 78 miles in length. The point whence the summer and winter roads diverged was Duleith, a German settlement at Beaver Bay, on Lake Superior, about 140 miles from St. Paul.

The evidence of the existence of gold at this spot was confined to "surface indications." These were reported, by men supposed to be skilful in mining, as good. Several years have, however, elapsed and no considerable influx of people has taken place to Vermilion Lake. The probability, therefore, is that gold, though existing, is not in sufficient quantities to pay for its being worked. Although accessible only by a very circuitous and rugged route from Red River, the development of gold mines at the spot referred to must necessarily have seriously influenced the course of affairs in the settlement, many of the inhabitants of which would doubtless have migrated to Vermilion. That the country round that spot, in common with the whole circuit of Lake Superior, is rich in mineral wealth, may be true, but the absence of facilities for transportation, and of the means of communication, has hitherto prevented its being turned to profitable account.

At the general Quarterly Court, held in the month of May, some circumstances occurred which attracted a good deal of public attention and interest. The firm of McKenney & Company, already repeatedly mentioned in the course of this work, had dissolved partnership in the autumn of 1864. It will be remembered the parties composing this firm were Mr. Henry McKenney and his near relative Dr. John Schultz. Shortly after the dissolution of partnership it became generally known that the complication of affairs between the parties was such as might necessitate recourse to litigation before the final arrangements could be concluded. In May, 1865, Dr. Schultz entered an action before the General Quarterly Court, in which he claimed from Mr. McKenney the sum of £300 sterling as the amount still due him before he could consent to the closing of the partnership accounts. The vast amount of documentary evidence into which it would be necessary to examine, along with other reasons which will readily suggest themselves, led the court to appoint a commission to investigate the

business and, by consent of parties to act as arbitrers. The members of the commission were Judge Beck and Mr. Francis Brunson. The term of the latter gentleman, which occurred from Snow caught in the summer of the same year, broke up this arrangement. In February, 1866, the case was again brought before the court and, in consequence of the absence from the settlement of Mr. McKenney, was deferred. Dr. Schultz urged that the reason alleged for deferring it was insufficient, and claimed that judgment ought to go by default.

An affidavit, made by Mr. McKenney before his departure, was produced, in which the absolute necessity of his journey was stated, along with such representations as satisfied the court of the propriety of permitting the hearing to be deferred.

In May, 1866, the case was again entered, and Dr. Schultz publicly declared that, on the previous occasion, the court "had permitted itself to be bullied and browbeaten" by the defendant, and "had neither the will nor the power to do justice." He was at once stopped and ordered to retract the offensive expressions, which he refused to do—on the contrary, repeating them with aggravations. He was then informed that, until he should retract or apologize, he could not be heard personally at the bar of the court, but was at liberty to appoint an agent. This, also, he refused to do, and, in consequence, several cases in which he was concerned as plaintiff remained unheard. In the "Nor' Wester," of which he was proprietor, he published his own account of the affair, commenting on it with much energy of diction as a new attempt on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company to crush an opponent in trade by refusing him justice in their courts. Beyond this virulence of language, however, the business was unattended by any immediate result.

On the 29th May an incident occurred at the Prairie Portage which vividly illustrates the perpetual danger which exists in places situated on the frontier of the wilderness of the occurrence of deadly conflicts between the white and the red man. Messrs. Hugh O'Lone, William A. Salmon, and James R. Clewitt were three American citizens carrying on a retail business at the Portage. About two o'clock on the afternoon of the day in question their

trading shop was entered by nine Saulteaux Indians, who demanded liquor. On being refused they attempted to carry off some buffalo robes alleged to belong to the Americans, who defended their property with clubs. The Indians retired, but about two hours afterwards returned armed with guns. They fired two shots at Clewitt without effect. Salmon, however, on hearing the noise, ran out of the house, when an Indian, placing the muzzle of his gun against his bosom, fired a shot which passed through his breast and broke his arm. Clewitt meanwhile was cut down with a knife, and O'Lone, seizing a gun, fired several shots, one of which killed an Indian. The attacking party, on seeing their friend fall, retired into the bush, still firing without effect at O'Lone.

Salmon, after lingering nine days at the Portage, was brought down to the settlement for medical treatment. An operation performed on his broken arm having resulted successfully, it was hoped he might recover, but, three days afterwards, he died suddenly. A post-mortem examination revealed a wound of the chest extending into the lung, the opening of which had caused death.

On the 30th May, 1866, the first "Conference for clergy and lay delegates from parishes" in the Diocese of Rupert's Land, was convened by the Bishop, in the school-room at St. John's. Ten clergymen and eighteen laymen composed the meeting. The Bishop read a long address, which has since been printed and published in England. His Lordship entered with great minuteness into the position of his Diocese, and his plans for rendering its organization more efficient. He explained that this conference was merely a preliminary step to holding such a Synod as those in full operation in Canada and the United States. In the former country the constitutions and canons of the Church had been drawn up after much consideration and discussion, and, where applicable to the circumstances of his Diocese, the Bishop would like to see them adopted. A committee might be appointed to take steps in furtherance of this scheme, by enquiring into the Canadian constitutions for organizing vestries, parishes and synods.

The Bishop proceeded to explain the circumstances which had transpired since the departure of his predecessor, with regard to

the resignation of the latter and his own appointment, which had been delayed so long, "owing to an important case that was before the Ecclesiastical Courts," as to interfere seriously with the efforts he would have wished to make by raising money in England on behalf of his Diocese. Many influential clergymen and laymen had, however, promised their assistance. Of these, the Rev. Charles Edward Oakley, rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London, had agreed to act as the Bishop's commissary in England; but his Lordship had heard, immediately after his arrival in the settlement, of the unexpected death of this gentleman. An application to the Rev. Thomas Thomason Perowne, fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, asking him to fill Mr. Oakley's place, had been at once acceded to.

The position of the Church in Rupert's Land, with reference to the English societies, was clearly defined. The unanimous expectation of these bodies was that some considerable effort should be put forth by the former towards self-support. This, the Bishop said, had been commenced by the introduction of the offertory system, which had answered very well, for all then required of it—the prospective entire maintenance of churches, churchyards and schools. A Diocesan Endowment Fund was proposed, the interest alone accruing from which was to be applied to meet any exigencies which might arise from time to time. A committee, to be called "The Finance and Property Committee," was proposed as the best agency for the management of this and similar schemes.

The educational condition of the colony was next considered. This was very bad. An almost total absence of books and the necessary facilities of stationery existed throughout the settlement, in several parishes of which no teaching whatever was going on. The Bishop had already partially remedied this state of things by active exertions in different parishes, and now called for a central depot for books and stationery, to be managed by a committee called "The Committee of Education and Missions." The preliminary steps of ordering a supply of books from England had been already taken. It was proposed that this depot should be for the benefit, not only of the settlement and missions, but of remotely situated posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, where its officers or servants might have established a day or night school.

A most important scheme was that for establishing a Theological College to be called "St. John's" in perpetuation of the name of the old institution, the history of which is detailed in chapter IX. The Rev. John McLean, of London, Canada West, had accepted the office of warden, and the Church Missionary Society had declared itself ready to support six pupils. A collegiate school was also to be established in connection with the college to be taught by the Bishop, the warden, and the Rev. Samuel Pritchard, whose own private school was amalgamated with the new one. A fine library, already formed by Bishop Anderson, had been largely increased by his successor and by various societies and people friendly to the enterprise.

The conference signified its assent to the propriety of all the projects thus sketched out by the Bishop, by passing a series of resolutions in which provision was made for the organization of the committees proposed, the names of parties present being selected to form the various Boards. It was also determined to raise funds for endowing a scholarship in connection with the new college, to be called "The Cochran Scholarship" in memory of the late Venerable Archdeacon Cochran, and the sum of £116 was immediately subscribed for the purpose by the members of the Conference. The general success of all the efforts above indicated will be noticed as we shall again have occasion to recur to these subjects.

On Monday, 18th June, the Governor quitted the settlement on his usual journey to meet the Northern Council at Norway House. On this occasion his party was accompanied by the Bishop of Rupert's Land, Mr. Schweiger, a civil engineer from Canada, and Mr. Chief Trader Taylor, who, having spent his winter's furlough in the settlement, went to resume duty in the interior.

The Bishop, the term of whose present visitation was York Factory, continued his journey, after a residence of a few days at Norway House, in the light boat which starts after Council for the coast, and by which officers, whose business requires their presence at that place, are conveyed to York. While at Norway House his Lordship had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of the large proportion of the officers connected with the Northern

James was captured in 1852. As Fort Snelling held two hundred prisoners, including a few of his men after returning by the fall navigation, he delayed his retirement on his way home until he could be released.

In early 1853, James E. Smith with a surveying party with which he was connected, and Mr. Isaac Vanhook, the first settler, with a party of young men, considered the practicability of constructing a steam navigation on this river. He spent the summer of the preceding year in the survey and on his return to the settlement he called first in a meet on the account of the report of his explorations. The general purpose was that, owing to a variety of drawbacks, including a few obstructions to the navigation of the river, a canal was to necessitate the expenditure of large sums before they could be opened. The project was yet of doubtful benefit to the parties interested.

At about the commence of winter had long been as constant as the seasons and been two weeks past the month of June, 1854. A party of about twenty, including Buffalo, having visited the *Portage* situated on the Plains, leaving three of his men, who were about thirty, were proceeded to Fort Garry on a party of about thirty. This gentleman advised them to return to their people and prevail on them to surrender to the Americans, assuring them that from a correspondence which had passed between himself and the military authorities at Fort Abercrombie, a few months previously, he would promise them kind treatment and forgiveness.

The *Sioux*, having left Fort Garry quietly, were on their way back to the *Portage*, when, about a mile from the Fort, they were attacked by a band of Red Lake Indians, who fired briskly on them, killing four of their number. The remainder fled for their lives, but it is probable they would have been pursued by their enemies had it not been for the bold course adopted by a party of settlers, who, seeing the skirmish, rode to the scene of action and stopped the slaughter. The bodies of the four murdered *Sioux* were horribly mutilated by their savage enemies in whose estimation the ears, nose, and fingers of a foe are of great price.

As it was quite possible the *Sioux* who had escaped would



return with a retinue of friends to take vengeance on the settlers in default of finding those who had been guilty of the outrage, an immediate session of the Council of Assiniboia was convened to deliberate on the best measures to be taken for the public defence. Authority was given to the Governor to collect from among the settlers a body numbering from 50 to 100 men, who, mounted and armed, should meet the Sioux on their way into the settlement with the object, either of persuading them to return to the Plains, or of restraining them from doing mischief during their stay in the colony. As the Sioux never attempted to retaliate, the necessity for using the powers thus conferred did not occur.

On the 18th July an altercation between a Saulteaux Indian resident near Fort Garry and a half-breed named John Desmarais resulted in the latter stabbing the former three times in the abdomen. The occurrence took place within the walls of Fort Garry, close to the door of the public sale shop into which the wounded man immediately walked, holding his protruding intestines in his hand, and demanding from the salesman on duty, who was naturally a good deal shocked at the unusual counter transaction, some cotton to bind up his wound. The poor man died on the ensuing morning and Desmarais was thrown into prison to wait his trial. A coroner's inquest was held and a verdict of wilful murder returned.

The case was brought up for trial at the August Quarterly Court. It was alleged in defence that the prisoner had been under the influence of liquor when the affair occurred, but the evidence was such that a verdict of guilty was inevitable. The court room was cleared and, after a considerable interval, when the doors were re-opened, it became generally understood that the tribunal had resolved on passing the sentence of death.

The chamber was immediately crowded, the constables present devoted themselves to the maintenance of order, and the prisoner was placed in the dock. The Judge commenced to speak, the audience whispered "hush! hush!!" and the Sheriff shouted "Order!" But the prisoner spoke French and Cree, and the Judge, who was resolved there should be no mistake, suggested that some one should interpret what he was about to say. The constable w-

usually officiated as Cree interpreter was on duty, but declined acting under the present painful circumstances. Standing close beside the bench, I could see only his venerable iron grey hairs, as, with his back to the Court he walked to and fro, mildly gesticulating to the audience and apparently trying to maintain silence; moreover it was whispered that he was somewhat drunk. After some delay another interpreter was obtained. The new man had a habit of contorting his features into the semblance of a smile and politely bowing when addressing any body, and taking his station at the bar, he commenced duty by bowing and spasmodically grinning "horribly a ghastly smile" alternately to the bench and the prisoner.

The Judge opened his address amid profound silence, and proceeded until the expressive grimaces of the Interpreter ought to have warned him it was time to halt a little. Turning with an apologetic bow to the dock the latter translated into good Cree the remarks which had just dropped from the seat of Judgment, grimacing suggestively from time to time at the prisoner who with grave countenance regarded him askance, listening attentively, though it was believed he understood English sufficiently well without his assistance. A councillor of Assiniboia of advanced years stood conspicuously at the court room door near the dock, and, with upturned eyes, and tongue thrust into his cheek, seemed lost in contemplation of this new complication of local affairs as, his back resting on the edge of the door, which was ajar, he swung with it meditatively from side to side upon its hinges.

The prisoner was sentenced to be hanged on the 4th September, but was informed that the Governor had still power to commute the penalty.

A very strong feeling existed among the Indian relatives of the murdered man, who boasted that, if Desmarais were not hung, they would take the law into their own hands, and as if to keep watch, several of their lodges were pitched in the immediate neighbourhood of the prison. A petition numerously and influentially signed by the general public and even by some of the immediate relatives of the unhappy victim, who felt for the family of Desmarais, was presented to the Governor, praying for a commutation of the pri-

soner's sentence. The result was an alteration of the sentence of hanging into one of banishment for life, and after some difficulty had been surmounted in conveying the prisoners out of the settlement without the knowledge of the Indians, he was transmitted from one post of the Company to another, and ultimately restored to liberty in New Caledonia.

The Red River crops in the autumn of 1866 were good. A succession of poor, or at best only partially successful harvests for a seriously long term of years had weighed heavily on the agricultural interests of the settlement and predisposed people to coincide with the Bishop in the desire of holding a day of public thanksgiving for the exceptionally abundant yield.

In some isolated spots there had, even in 1866, been a partial failure, chiefly in consequence of grasshoppers, early frosts and blackbirds, which had exercised a certain adverse influence—the crops of half the parish of St. Anne's, La Prairie or the Poplars were entirely destroyed by the grasshoppers—but over the colony as a whole there had been an average return, where the farming had been carefully attended to, of nearly 40 bushels wheat to the acre. The root crop was also very successful.

Towards the beginning of October there arrived in the settlement a gentleman well calculated to supply what had been for a series of years felt as a heavy want. The Venerable Archdeacon McLean has been already mentioned in a former part of this chapter as being appointed warden of St. John's College. The importance of this institution as part of a scheme for creating a regular Church Establishment in Rupert's Land was very great. It was intended to supply the only means available to natives of the country for obtaining a general and theological education such as would qualify them for entering the Church as its ordained ministers. The ultimate object would be that native clergymen should supersede foreign missionaries, the latter retiring, as a corps of the former were prepared to fill their places.

Bishop Anderson had exerted himself to meet this want by utilizing Mr. McCallum's Academy; but, although his Lordship used his utmost endeavours, St. John's College had turned out, as I have repeatedly already had occasion to remark, an entire

failure. This was doubtless owing to the absence of any competent teacher, whose sole or chief duty would be to attend to the business of the school and whose residence throughout the year would be uninterruptedly on the scene of its operations. The selection of a proper person for such an office is a difficulty anywhere, and one which at a place so remote as Red River might appear insuperable. Bishop Machray however fortunately possessed a personal acquaintance with Mr. McLean and effected such arrangements as led to the latter resigning the pastoral charge of the Cathedral parish of the Diocese of Huron in London, Canada West, and coming to assist in the virtual foundation of St. John's College at Red River.

Besides his collegiate duties, Mr. McLean undertook those of minister of the Cathedral parish of St. John, in which his college is situated, and succeeded the Venerable William Cochran as Archdeacon of Assiniboia.

St. John's College, under its new constitution was divided into two departments; that of the theological course and that of the collegiate school. The former was intended to accomplish the prime object of the undertaking: the formation of a home ministry, while the latter was a subsidiary scheme for the education of young people in the higher branches of general education.

The theological department was managed by Archdeacon McLean as warden and professor, while the Bishop himself acted as professor of ecclesiastical history. The junior school was taught by the warden as senior classical master and the Rev. Samuel Pritchard as English master. Until some suitable person could be procured for the appointment, the Bishop undertook the duties of mathematical and junior classical teacher.

The school may be attended by pupils either as boarders or day scholars. The warden and the Rev. Mr. Pritchard are each at the head of a boarding house. The College charges for tuition and board, during the 40 weeks of residence, come to about £26 a year.

There are two terms followed by two vacations of six weeks each at Midsummer and Christmas.

Such is a sketch of the main features of the Institution to the establishment of which Archdeacon McLean devoted his efforts

immediately after his arrival. The old and dilapidated schoolhouse was refitted and partially rebuilt while the Archdeacon took up his residence in a large neighbouring building called St. Cross which had long stood tenantless and unused. The solitary precincts of St. John's Cathedral and Bishop's Court assumed an air of life and activity, and the settlement again saw a public school working in its midst.

Towards the beginning of winter, 1866, there appeared at Red River an individual destined to attract a considerable share of public attention to himself and his proceedings. Mr. Thomas Spence, accompanied by his lady, arrived in the party of a traveller named Scott, who, along with his son, came on a tour of business or pleasure to the colony.

The first intelligence received of a distinct nature regarding the mission and object of Mr. Spence was through Mr. Schwieger who, on his return home to Canada, after having completed his survey of the Saskatchewan affecting steam navigation on its waters, met the former at Georgetown. Mr. Spence, whose theories respecting Rupert's Land appeared to differ very materially from those entertained by Mr. Schwieger, told the latter that, in the event of his meeting the Honourable Thomas D'Arcy McGee in Canada, he was at liberty to state that the views of the lamented statesman in question respecting Rupert's Land were about to be realized and Mr. Spence was on his way to carry them into effect.

The latter, on his arrival in the settlement, became at once regarded as a politician, and lost no opportunity of representing himself as such. The Messrs. Scott, with whom he had travelled, took no part whatever in his proceedings, which they regarded, apparently, as a source of amusement. He represented himself as having served for some time as a subaltern officer in a regiment of foot, the number of which I forget; but the most remarkable feature of the corps which came to my knowledge was, that all the officers, except Mr. Spence, were Irishmen, and the name of the commander was Colonel O'Gorman. After quitting the army, Mr. Spence had practiced for a considerable time as a land surveyor, in which capacity he was understood to have attained some considerable skill.

His first public appearance in the settlement was at a political meeting which he convened in the afternoon on Saturday, 8th December. He had obtained the use of this place in virtue of a petition from a number of the inhabitants requesting the governor of the gaol to place it at the disposal of a meeting to be called for the purpose of memorializing the Imperial Government, praying to be received into and form a part of the Grand Confederation of British North America, and further, to express our desire to act in unity and co-operation with our neighboring colonies, Vancouver and British Columbia, to further British interests and confederation from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

As soon as the nature of the movement to be undertaken in furtherance of the grand scheme sketched out in the above quotation became known, it was rendered evident that an under-current of opinion, hostile to the spread of British interests, existed in the colony. Mr. George Emmerling, a settler of German extraction, popularly and familiarly known as "Dutch George," who, within the preceding six years, had risen from acting as an itinerant retail dealer in fruits and small wares to be the landlord of the principal hotel in the village of Winnipeg, declared himself resolved to attend Mr. Spence's meeting, with the object of advocating the policy of annexation to the United States of America.

By an ingenious device the designs of the disloyal were partially frustrated. The hour at which the meeting was convened was 10.30 a.m. Precisely at that time, according to Mr. Spence, or at an hour considerably before it, according to certain of his opponents, he and four other gentlemen were on the appointed spot, and, having been put in possession of the court room by the sheriff, or "governor of the gaol," immediately applied themselves to the despatch of business. The position having been offered to, and refused by the sheriff, a chairman was elected, and the resolutions, the last of which was, I believe, to the effect that, "three cheers be given in honour of Our Most Gracious Sovereign Lady the Queen," were passed unanimously and with uproarious expressions of popular enthusiasm, which induced Monsieur Antoine Grouette, the grey-headed little French-speaking jailor, who resided in the house, to surmise that the five Englishmen assembled in court, were touched in the upper story.

The business of the meeting having been thus satisfactorily accomplished, the five gentlemen composing it, metaphorically speaking, "dispersed," and adjourned in their private capacity to the neighbouring village of Winnipeg, with the view, it was imagined, of drinking success to the day's work at Mr. Emmerling's tavern. When only half-way across the Hudson's Bay land reserve, which separates Fort Garry and the neighbouring court room and prison from the village, the party encountered "Dutch George" himself, at the head of a numerous retinue of citizens in carriages and on foot, a respectable minority of whom were obviously already labouring under the stimulating influences of spirituous liquors, a considerable supply of which Mr. Emmerling had brought along with him for purposes of gratuitous distribution among the supporters of the policy it was his intention to advocate.

On learning the manner in which the public had been outwitted, the indignation of "Mine Host," and his friends, was almost too great to admit of adequate utterance. They claimed that they were "the public," and that the meeting alleged to have been held could in no way be accepted as the political demonstration the people had been led to expect, the five individuals composing it being unknown men, new arrivals, and without stake in the country. Moreover, the hour named as that at which the meeting had been advertised to commence, was not yet arrived, and the whole thing was pronounced a piece of sharp practice.

These representations had such effect on the mind at least of the chairman of the meeting of five, a gentleman named Colonel Robertson, who had previously held a commission in the service of the American Government, that, on arriving at the village of Winnipeg, he called on the sheriff, explained what had occurred since the departure of that official from the court room, immediately after having officially placed the apartment at the disposal of the meeting, as well as the public excitement to which its conduct had given rise, and requested renewed permission to use the same room as the scene of a second meeting to be held forthwith.

The sheriff gave his immediate assent to the measure thus proposed and his permission was the signal for the hurried outset of the public in a vast mass from the village to the court house,

which, on their arrival, was crowded to the doors. A chairman, other than he who had presided at the previous deliberations, was, after some difficulty, selected, and the first resolve put to the new assembly was to the effect that the preceding meeting had been an informality and a nullity, and that all its resolutions should be now rescinded as if they had never been passed. This motion was carried by an overwhelming majority, with perhaps indecent haste and with loud applause.

A more difficult task remained in trying to frame new resolutions, there being nobody present provided with such, and the general temper of the assembly evincing an obvious tendency rather to oppose any possible motion than to support a policy leading to any imaginable result. Mr. Emmerling talked with much animation to a small group of people immediately about him, some of whom he shook and jostled so roughly as to propagate a rumour that for some deep purpose he had arranged with them to submit to such usage in return for the copious supply of liquor with which he regaled them. Neither he nor any other, however, succeeded in gaining the public ear, and great disorder prevailed. An individual at length got on his feet, apparently indulging a faint hope of obtaining a hearing. He commenced to speak, but was unceremoniously interrupted by Mr. Emmerling, who called on him to pay him in the first instance a petty sum in which he was indebted to him as balance still due for "refreshments" taken at his bar some months previously. This personal reminiscence led to a series of close encounters, in the course of which the alleged creditor received a blow from the butt end of a whip handle which prostrated him, amid some effusion of blood, close to the table of the clerk of court, on which an active partizan instantly sprang, and after throwing off his coat and squaring his fists scientifically at the heaving multitude beyond commenced to sing the convivial stave "Come landlord fill the flowing bowl."

A scene of wild confusion reigned in the small court room. Parties and party feelings were drowned in a host of personalities, as individuals, themselves hurried to and fro by the turbulence of the mass, hit rudely against others who, eager for the fray, retorted on their involuntary and crowd-cramped assailants with violence.



The action of one gentleman was specially remembered, who, in consequence of a deplorable gun accident, which had occurred to him many years previously, while hunting in a bark canoe on Lake Superior, had lost his right arm, and being closely packed in a corner of the room by the action of the crowd, indignant at the conduct of some men who were striking the fallen landlord, shouted loudly for a "stick" with which it was conjectured he proposed to clear his way to the rescue of the prostrate Dutchman.

A "six footer" Scotch groom, in the service of the Company was also on the scene of action. This man being collared by a frantic partizan, was restrained from visiting his adversary with what might have been a most effectual chastisement, solely by the timely recollection that he carried in his waistcoat pocket the sacramental "token" which was to be his passport on the following day to the great semi-annual religious celebration of his church. The violence with which he subsequently inveighed against his opponent, bore witness to the narrow escape the latter had made, as well as to the strength of the sentiment of propriety which had enabled him so far to bridle his inclination as to deny himself the tempting luxury of one telling hit. Even as matters stood there was a full intention of seeking redress by legal means and the victim declared "if there was law in the country he would have him at the law" who "had took him by the thrott;" but the intention was not carried out.

After some time had elapsed the entire crowd, who had acted so strangely in the court room, sought hasty and uproarious exit at the doors, it was imagined by Grouette, with the view of continuing hostilities, on a more extended scale outside. If such were their intention, it was abandoned, probably under the cooling influences of the December wind, and the patriots directed their steps toward the village where an orgie was instituted, which ended about midnight in the demolition of Mr. Emmerling's bar, and general destruction to his bottles and earthenware.

The "Nor' Wester," in its account of this public meeting, published in full the resolutions of the five original actors in the above drama, without, however, mentioning the inconsiderable

course of time was not done for it. The two notices taken of the court and accordingly the two parts of the proceedings were arranged in a manner so the effect that after the meeting had been held a directory given and returned the court from the course followed by the members of which were of a heterogeneous and general character and without any bearing whatsoever on the reports in which the meeting had been mentioned.

The meeting above described has been a good deal used for party purposes in Canada and even I believe in England, where it has been represented as the only public meeting ever convened in that country by the "sherrif" and the resolutions passed as embodying the spontaneous sentiments of a people. Indignity of the fact that the sherrif did not convene in his own character has never been known to the outside public, whose only information respecting it was derived from the mutilated accounts published in the "New Western."

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

1867.

Mr. Spence's Legal Practice; His Indian Address to the Prince of Wales—Death of Chief Factor Clare—Schultz Agitation—Mr. Spence's Electioneering Campaign—Diocesan Synod; Bishop's Address—Winnipeg Constabulary.—Mr. Pensioner Mulligan—Canadian Road Operations—Earl of March and Mr. Hill—Crops—Winnipeg Theatre; Opening night—Burns' Club—Christmas Bazaars.

OCCUPYING himself with private business, Mr. Spence for some weeks after the occurrence of events detailed in last chapter, refrained from appearing in public as a political agitator. An advertisement appeared in the "Nor' Wester" announcing that he was prepared to assist any one who might retain him to draw up legal documents, wills, agreements, and conveyances of property as well as to arbitrate upon and adjust disputed accounts and conduct correspondence on matters of importance. A paragraph in the newspaper also drew attention to the advertisement, and recommended Mr. Spence as a deserving candidate, to any who might feel inclined to patronize him. He acted as agent for the newspaper itself, calling on the people and canvassing for subscriptions.

As a legal practitioner he had certain clients, and in that capacity brought himself repeatedly under the notice of the Red River Executive. He acted as agent for the prosecution in some cases of a criminal nature which occurred, and in which his interference tended to engender strife and place magistrates in the dilemma of being compelled to choose an alternative between committing parties against whom his clients might bring a charge, based sometimes on ludicrously insufficient evidence, and dismissing the case. The former course naturally subjected the magisterial victim to a castigation at the hands of the "Nor' Wester,"

as a Hudson's Bay Company's judge resolved, in obedience to the dictation of a band of mediæval monopolists, to oppress a British subject by immuring him in a dungeon under pretence of administering justice ; while the latter alternative opened a clear way to our veracious contemporary to work on public feeling by representing Hudson's Bay magistrates as deaf to the cries of outraged humanity calling for protection they were powerless to afford.

As a specimen of the style of practice to which I allude I beg to instance the following case, suppressing the names, as I cannot consider myself justified in further dragging them before the public : A highly respectable " head of a family " called, with the object of collecting payment of a debt, at the house of a friend, living about fifty miles from his own home, where he passed the night. The house consisted of only one room in which the whole family slept. Host and guest indulged in a jollification which terminated in the former falling asleep while the latter was still capable of speech and motion. Seeing that both men were drunk, the hostess rose during the night and went, along with her child, to sleep in a neighbouring house. Oppressed with a dread that something had occurred of an objectionable nature while he was asleep, the host, after the departure of his creditor, communicated facts and suspicions to Mr. Spence from whom he speedily procured a note addressed to the nearest justice of the peace, stating what he knew and demanding a warrant for the apprehension of the culprit under a charge of " assault and battery, with attempted rape."

Armed with this formidable document the complainant, accompanied by his wife, appeared before the magistrate and stated his case. He was labouring at the moment under much excitement, and strode up and down the apartment, grinding his teeth, menacing an imaginary opponent with his fist, and haranguing alternately about what he meant to do with his late guest, and on the feelings with which he had listened to the opinions expressed by his legal agent during their newly-finished interview. On hearing the facts alleged the magistrate pointed out the total want of evidence which existed, and the woman, on whom the supposed offence was said to have been perpetrated, seemed entirely satisfied with his refusal to meet the wishes of her posturing lord by

sending a constable to apprehend the offending party. On the contrary, he dismissed complainant with a verbal warning to his adviser that there was an offence known to the law, named "barratry," and that he would do well to beware. Another magistrate, however, granted the desired warrant and, to the vast amusement of his friends the unhappy culprit on receiving the document from the hands of the constable appointed to serve it, swooned in an ecstasy of horror. The case, of course, never went further, the parties on being brought together before the magistrate coming to a mutual friendly understanding.

The next incident of public moment which occurred, and to which Mr. Spence gave the impetus, was of so unprecedented a nature that I scarcely know how adequately to characterize the assurance which prompted it.

It may be recollected by sundry people in England that, in April, 1867, the press took a good deal of notice of an address supposed to emanate from the Indians of Red River settlement, requesting the Prince of Wales to visit their hunting grounds. The "News of the World" on 21st April, 1867, contained the following:—

AN INVITATION TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

"Below we give a translation of the letter of invitation which has been sent to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales from the Indians of the Red River Settlement. The letter itself is somewhat unique, and we doubt whether the mail bags of any nation ever carried its like. The Indians, who feel a great degree of traditional respect for the royal family, and with a certain taste for barbaric show and glitter, felt that an ordinary ink and paper invitation would scarcely convey the earnestness of their wish that the Prince should come, so they have sent their request in a style peculiar to themselves. The material on which the letter is written is the fine inner rind of the birch bark, surrounded with a deep border of gilt. The letters of the heading are in red, white, and blue, the capitals throughout being in old English gilt.

The following is a translation of the letter :

" ' To the Firstborn of our Great Mother, across the Great Waters.

" ' Great Chief, whom we call Royal Chief,

“We and our people hear that our relations, the Half-breeds and the Pale-faces, at Red River, have asked you to come and see them the next summer. We and our people also wish you to come and visit us. Every lodge will give you royal welcome. We have the bear and the buffalo, and our hunting grounds are free to you; our horses will carry you, and our dogs hunt for you, and we and our people will guard and attend you; our old men will shew you their medals, which they received for being faithful to the Father of our Great Mother. Great Royal Chief! if you will come, send word to our Guiding Chief at Fort Garry, so that we may have time to meet and receive you as becoming our Great Royal Chief.”  
—*Canadian News*, April 11th.”

For some time before being forwarded to England the document above described lay in the house of Dr. Schultz, open to the inspection of friends of Mr. Spence, who, without contradiction, and, as a matter of course, received their congratulations on the ability he had shown in executing the work purporting to emanate from the Indians, whose style of ornamental work is something very different. Instead of “the barbaric show and glitter” of gilding, the materials generally used in Indian ornament are dyed porcupine quills and dyed moose hair, which are the natural products of the country, and wampum and other beads, which are imported by the traders. The use of gold in the arts is yet unpracticed by the savage.

The original draft of the memorial was written in English and translated into Indian by a young half-breed gentleman at school in the settlement. Mr. Spence, whose skill in such operations, obtained from long experience in a land surveyor's office, is undoubted, exerted himself to the utmost to produce a creditable specimen of caligraphy, with what signal success the above quoted extract may testify. I have been unable to ascertain positively that any Indian had seen or heard of the letter, and inquiries on the subject in the village of Winnipeg elicit but a smile at the credulity of such “greenhorns” as put faith in its authenticity. My object in making inquiry was to endeavour to obtain photographs of the Indians referred to, with the design of gracing my page with copies so as to convey to the reader's mind an idea of the degrada-

tion of the real men, in contrast with the ideal figures conjured up by the skill of interested people. The reference in the letter to the Hudson's Bay officer at Forty Garry was unauthorized, and permission to make it unrequested.

In the course of the following June the "Nor' Wester" published a letter just received by Mr. Spence from the secretary of the Governor General of Canada, enclosing copy of dispatch from the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos to Lord Monck, in which the Colonial Secretary acquainted the latter that the address from the chiefs of the Red River Settlement, forwarded through his Lordship, had been presented to the Prince of Wales, who desired that his sentiments of satisfaction, on receiving their address, should be communicated to the chiefs. It was added that His Royal Highness was unable to visit their country, but would have been much gratified had it been in his power to comply with their invitation.

Early in November, 1866, Mr. Chief Factor Clare, the gentleman in charge of Fort Garry, and a councillor of Assiniboia, left Red River on a journey to England, undertaken chiefly with the object of attending to his private affairs. It was not anticipated that his absence would extend over more than a few months, for which term he received a temporary leave. Shortly after quitting Fort Garry Mr. Clare became unwell, but, anxious to get home, he pushed forward on his way, and, on reaching his relatives in London, was exceedingly ill. It was only a few hours before his death, which occurred early in January, that his malady appeared likely to prove fatal. The news of his decease arrived with awful suddenness in the settlement, where he was highly respected and generally liked, though he had passed only two years in charge of the company's affairs at Fort Garry.

Dr. Schultz immediately represented to the Red River public, through the columns of the "Nor' Wester," that a vacancy had occurred, in consequence of the death of Mr. Clare, in the Council of Assiniboia; and proposed himself as a fit candidate to fill the blank. The manner in which the subject was brought before the public was as follows. A letter dated Red River Settlement, 19th February 1867, signed by several influential men, purported to call

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the attention of Dr. Schultz to the opening offered to his efforts and requested him to allow the undersigned to petition the Council to appoint him one of their number.

In reply to the request of his nominees Schultz assured them of his sense that they might have chosen many others quite as worthy as himself to wear the coveted honour, and others even "much more likely" than he "to be suitable to the present Council:" yet as a step towards representation by election he would assent to their request and, should they succeed, he pledged himself to represent the public interest to the best of his ability.

The petition was duly drawn up, signed and presented, along with an accompanying letter from Mr. Spence. In reply Mr. Smith, the clerk of Council, addressed the latter, informing him that the documents had been under the consideration of the Assembly in behalf of which he wrote, but that, "as it was by the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company and not by the Council of Assiniboia that the members of the latter body are appointed," the petition would be transmitted to England. Mr. Smith added he was also instructed to say that, along with Mr. Spence's petition there was laid before the Governor and Council a counter-petition from other inhabitants, and that it would at the same time be forwarded to England for consideration.

Mr. Smith's letter was the signal for a new outbreak on the part of the "Nor' Wester." Dr. Schultz in a letter, addressed to the signers of the petition in his favour, asserted that their request had been in effect denied, and that, so far as he could learn, it had scarcely received, even a courteous consideration. He accounted for this discouraging termination of their hopes by the fact of his being personally obnoxious to the members of the present Council, but assured his correspondents that the state of things complained of was nearly at an end, and exhorted them to view with cheerfulness and confidence the advent of the happy day approaching, when the object of their choice "be he Turk or Jew or Free Trader will take his seat in the Legislative Assemblies, not on sufferance, but as a matter of right and justice to the law-abiding British subjects who elect him."

Mr. Spence also caught the golden opportunity which offered



itself to obtain the public ear. He based his arguments on the evidence of Sir George Simpson, given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1857. He addressed his communication to "the editor of the *Nor' Wester*" and called upon that martyred functionary "to perceive that the shuffle of a counter-petition had been resorted to." He alleged it had been ascertained that this counter-petition had been put in circulation "from some *very interested quarter*" the day previous to the meeting of Council, and had actually received some ten or twelve names, "probably of parties indirectly in the employment of the Company." The writer observed that "the far-famed Red River Settlement "stands alone on the face of the British Globe, as one denied the "right of Representation."

The "editorials" in which the annoying action of the Council was commented on were equal to the occasion. As a solution of the unsatisfactory state of things it was stated people were "openly "discussing the propriety of taking the Government from its present hands into that of their own," while the authorities were accused of being prepared to sell "summonses or saltpetre, writs "or writing paper," or to "furnish as part of their business, liquor "or marriage licenses, pemmican, law, justice, painkiller, powder, "pea nuts, or in fact anything that is in their line of trade."

On 29th May, 1867, the second congress of clergy and lay delegates from parishes in the Diocese of Rupert's Land was held in St. John's schoolroom. Eight clergymen and nineteen laymen composed the meeting. The following is a synopsis of the Bishop's address, containing an account of the progress, during the preceding year, and prospects of the Church :

The Bishop recommended that the conference should, as a body, assume the name of the Synod, it being such in fact already, although without the authority necessary to render its decisions legally obligatory. The Archdeaconry of Cumberland, vacated by Mr. Hunter, to whose long service, knowledge of the Cree language, and general usefulness, the Bishop paid a high compliment, had been conferred on the Venerable Abraham Cowley, corresponding secretary of the Church Missionary Society. The supply of clergy

was a matter calling for serious consideration, six of the gentlemen on the list being about to return to England or having already gone, the majority of whom were unlikely to return. The peculiar circumstances of the Diocese rendering it unlikely that English clergymen would come to settle in it as their home, it was to be dreaded that, after spending a number of years in it, they would leave it when their experience was more valuable than ever. This, and the necessity for a knowledge of the native languages, rendered it expedient to provide native clergymen. This would be accomplished through the agency of St. John's College. The formation of a Clergy Widows' and Orphans Fund was recommended, as also the establishment of clerical libraries. The system of appointing lay readers had been introduced by Bishop Anderson and would be continued.

St. John's College, which had been in working order for more than six months, was progressing as favourably as could be desired. A constitution and body of statutes had been issued as a temporary measure until a Synod, legally competent to govern, should be in existence. Three senior theological students had gone through the theological session just expired, while twenty-six pupils had attended the collegiate school, of whom seven attended the theological class. The senior theological course would be limited, in point of time, to a yearly winter session of twenty weeks. The collegiate school course included the ordinary English branches, Latin, Greek, and mathematics. The junior theological course consisted of the reading and exposition of Holy Scriptures, the Evidences of Christianity, and the Articles of the Church; the senior comprehended the two latter subjects, and Early Ecclesiastical History.

The Hudson's Bay Company had renewed their grant of one hundred pounds annually given to the old institution. The New England Company had supplied a similar sum, and the Church Missionary Society, £200 per annum. An attempt had been made to organize an endowment for the Warden's Chair of Theology, the first contribution towards which had come from the parish church of Clifton, of which the Right Reverend Dr. Anderson, late Bishop of Rupert's Land, was then incumbent. The buildings available

for school purposes were dilapidated, and the improvements made on them had been merely of a temporary nature. It was hoped that, when the institution had been in working order for a few years, its friends would have such confidence in it as would lead them to assist in raising suitable stone buildings.

The attempt made to raise money for the endowment of a scholarship, to be named in memory of the late Archdeacon Cochran, had resulted in the subscription of £330. The aim of the Bishop was to raise this scholarship to an ultimate value of £20 per annum.

Parish schools, of which the unpromising appearance had been referred to by the Bishop in his address of the previous year, had been instituted in every parish save one. After a space of five years the entire cost of these schools would require to be sustained by their respective parishes, as the Church Missionary Society had resolved gradually to decrease, in order, at the close of that period, entirely to withdraw the support it had, till then, afforded them.

The book depôt, commenced the preceding year with the object of supplying school material, had succeeded well. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Church Missionary Society had contributed to this happy result. Several of the school houses in the various parishes had been entirely built during the year.

The Bishop regarded the organization of a Diocesan Fund as the vital question with which the Synod would have to deal. The final objects of this institution would be to assist promising young men in qualifying themselves for holy orders; to maintain clergymen actually employed in parishes and missions; and to pension such as from old age or ill health might be incapacitated for duty. Its secondary objects would be to further all religious objects, such as the support of schools, the dissemination of Bibles, prayer-books, and other religious works, and the formation of parish libraries. Though such were the ultimate results to be expected, in the meantime the Synod could turn its attention only to a small part of the work. The means at their disposal were limited, the people poor, and the tide of immigration, so confidently expected within a few years, had not yet commenced to roll in. The sums collected from the weekly offertory, along with the receipts from special col-

lections on harvest thanksgivings and other occasions, and miscellaneous donations from individuals, composed the entire means raised among the people by the Church in the colony. The moneys were distributed amongst the various schemes above sketched out, so as to meet the exigencies of their several circumstances.

After some general remarks on the Pagan Missions in the interior, in course of which the unwieldy bulk of the diocese, which rendered it hopeless that the Bishop should ever visit its remoter missions, was dwelt upon, his Lordship closed his address with some observations on recent proceedings in the colonial parish of St. Andrew's which, from its larger and denser population, offered a better field for the operations described than any other portion of the settlement. The Rev. J. P. Gardiner had opened a night school and classes for adult pupils; he had set on foot a course of "missionary meetings," a "mutual improvement" class, popular lectures by the Bishop and others on alternate weeks with miscellaneous "penny readings" and music, the pecuniary profits of which were devoted to the foundation of a library.

The system of Lenten week-day lectures had been carried out with success in St. Andrew's and several parish churches, as well as in St. John's Cathedral.

The address, of which the above is a brief account, was printed, like that of the preceding year in England, and circulated somewhat extensively. Such papers will probably be valuable after the lapse of years, when the efforts, at present in their infancy, shall have expanded into wide proportions, and the country in which they are now being put forth have altered its circumstances for the better. I have been somewhat minute in my relation of these and other matters connected with the Church, seeing its power as a civilizing element in the midst of a border population renders its establishment important, and the condition of schools may naturally be supposed to possess a strong interest in the estimation of such as desire to settle in a new country.

During the summer and autumn of 1867 nothing of public interest occurred to vary the even tenor of Red River life. The accustomed advent of the Plain hunters in spring, with the object

of selling the furs they had obtained during the previous winter, was accompanied by the usual scenes of dissipation consequent on the currency of large quantities of money in the village of Winnipeg. To check the daily breaches of the peace a trustworthy constable was engaged by the Council of Assiniboia at a rate of pay the liberality of which was supposed to correspond with the importance of the functions it was his duty to fulfil. Mr. James Mulligan, late of H. M. 86th regiment, was one of the corps of pensioners whose arrival in the colony in 1848 has been mentioned in Chapter VII. Apart from his other claims to public consideration Mr. Mulligan had been much before the courts as a litigant; and was popularly supposed to be well versed, through long practice, in the practical details of Red River jurisprudence. To this forensic experience he had added that acquaintance with the peculiarities of the colonial population which was to be gained by one year's interim occupancy of the position of lessee of the ferry ordinarily held by Mr. Duncan McDougall, a narrative of whose mode of discharging the duties of his important public office has been given in Chapter XIV.

In May, 1865, on the opening of navigation, Mr. Mulligan had been invested with the office of ferryman and had, in defiance of French intimidation, manfully done his duty throughout the whole season. In May, 1866, however, after having refitted his shattered craft and got everything in order for a second campaign, he was somewhat indignant at being advised by a man in authority that, in consequence of a numerously signed petition from the inhabitants, it was the painful duty of his informant to dismiss him. Mulligan, doubting the authority of a single councillor to displace him, declared himself ready to resist, and actually maintained his ground for a day, during which, as the cart brigades were just beginning to cross the river on their way to St. Paul, he had his hands full from morning till night and drew a handsome sum for his pains, at the expense of McDougall, who, however, next day entered into peaceable enjoyment of his old situation, "*vice* Mulligan retired."

In 1867, with a salary of £60, the latter was installed in the newly-created office of policeman, his sphere of action, in contra-

distinction to that of the corps of ordinary constables, being within the village of Winnipeg.

Intelligence reached the settlement in July that the Canadian Government had determined to avail itself of a sum of \$55,000, granted from the Upper Canada Colonization Road Fund, for the purpose of opening up a direct communication between the western extremity of Lake Superior and Red River, through British territory. The work had been commenced in May, at the Lake Superior extremity of the Line, starting from a place called Thunder Bay and extending westwards towards Dog Lake. A section of the road, six miles in length, was completed in the summer of 1867, while the works for the construction of a dam at one spot on the line were carried to a satisfactory stage of advancement.

Towards the close of August the settlement again saw two travellers of distinction on their way to spend a winter among the hunting grounds of the interior. The Right Hon. the Earl of March and Edward Hill, Esq., after remaining a few days at Red River, with the object of providing themselves with servants and the necessary apparatus to carry out the details of their winter campaign, started for the west. Reaching Carlton, late in autumn, they constructed a temporary house in the neighbourhood of the Fort, and employed themselves in hunting. The principal objects of their attention were buffalo, of which they killed a great many, and grizzly bears, of which they found two and killed one, the second escaping through the negligence of a servant. In early spring the party made the best of their way on horseback over the swampy trackless plains to the colony, where they arrived in time to witness a popular demonstration of a violent nature, excited by the "Nor' Wester," the detailed circumstances of which will be set forth in the following chapter. Towards the close of April the Earl and Mr. Hill quitted the settlement, on their way to England, by one of the earliest trips made by the steamer "International" to Georgetown.

The harvest of 1867, was considerably injured by the vast clouds of grasshoppers that lighted at the beginning of the harvest.

Almost all the oats and barley were entirely destroyed, the wheat greatly injured. The other sources whence food is principally obtained for the subsistence of the colony gave their accustomed yield.

The village of Winnipeg, which had increased from the single edifice erected by McKenney & Co., in 1862, to a cluster of houses, the principal of which were irregularly scattered along the public highway so as to form something resembling a street, became, in the autumn of 1867, the scene of a number of attempts to introduce the institutions of a higher civilization into that oasis in the wilderness of Rupert's Land. Mr. Emmerling established a billiard table, imported from the United States, in his hotel, to which a new wing, fully as large as the original building, had been added, the entire basement story of which was fitted up as a billiard saloon. The table was in constant use, and the profits were so considerable as to induce the enterprising proprietor to add a second table the following spring.

A theatre on a very humble scale was also commenced by some amateur artists who fitted for the purpose a room on the upper story of a building, the lower flat of which was divided into small shops, for which highly remunerative rents were paid. The theatre was provided with a miniature stage with curtain and footlights, the dressing rooms being in the shop underneath, access to which was obtained by a very precipitous trapstair immediately behind the Lilliputian scenes.

On the opening night the whole population of the town may be said to have been on the alert. The George hotel was illuminated with a candle at every pane of glass in the windows of the billiard saloon. The result of this demonstration was very nearly calamitous, as, when every person was engaged with other matters one of the candles set fire to the furnishing of a window, and, had it not been for the good offices of an accidental passenger, the result might, in consequence of the central position of the inn, have been most disastrous among the village houses, all of which are built of wood.

The performances commenced with a pantomime, after which came an original farce, the action of which was supposed to take

pass at the George hotel, the critical circumstances of which at the moment were being worked to nature by audience. A traveller from the distant north was supposed to arrive and demand accommodation. After being informed that any thing he could possibly want for would be provided for his comfort and entertainment he asked for a bedroom. The room to which he was shown was represented as a being subterranean vault. He shouted for the acting landlord with terms of vituperation and personalities in the shape of "whisper aslies" which, it was momentarily decided by the audience, might bring that formidable functionary himself upon the stage in other than a mimic humor. The traveller's candle, when he attempted to light it, exploded with the action of fireworks, his boots disappeared before his eyes, being raised by some diabolical agency, unknown to the vulgar, each in the opposite direction across the floor; and, finally, when exhausted he sought repose upon his bed, the rickety structure fell to the ground under its shouting occupant, and the curtain dropped amid applause of so violent a nature as severely tried the frail supports with which the flooring was upheld and was in consequence "speedily suppressed."

The whole affair was generally pronounced "a success," which was, however, damped by a painful accident which befel the principal actor and organizer of the attempt, who, having occasion to return, after the lights had been extinguished, for something he had left upon the stage, stumbled and fell in the dark, cutting his leg so severely with the tin reflector of one of his own footlights that surgical assistance was rendered necessary, and the manager confined to his room for several weeks.

A "Burns' Club" was also established by the same clever man, the objects of which were announced to be the provision, for Scotchmen resident in the colony, of the means of social friendship and conviviality, and the strengthening of the ties which connected them with their mother country by the contemplation of the character and study of the works of the great poet by whose name the club was called.

The Solicitor General of Scotland and Professor Blackie grace with their presence and eloquence the anniversary feasts of the



club called by this name in Edinburgh. Those celebrated in Winnipeg are, as yet, unhonoured by the presence of the great, but the humble members appear to be in possession of a means of enjoyment which, if less adapted to promote the "feast of reason," is possibly more fitted to excite the "flow of soul" than even the rhetoric of a luminary of the law.

The members of the club met at a dinner party early on the afternoon of St. Andrew's Day, 1867, and for some hours good conduct, fraternal sentiments, and harmony prevailed. But, unhappily, just about the twilight hour of the short November day a slight altercation commenced, respecting the relative superiority between the Highlands and Low Countries of Scotland. The subject was one in which everybody felt a lively personal interest, and the debate regarding it quickly swelled into a tumult. The whole party rushed with ringing shouts from the meeting chamber to the street which forthwith became the theatre of one of the most formidable scenes of disorder ever witnessed within his beat by Mr. Constable Mulligan, whose single arm was powerless in the presence of the multitude of rioters, who shifted their ground from one corner of the village to another as victory declared itself alternately on either side of the struggling crowd.

During the Christmas holidays of 1866 some ladies in the settlement had organized a bazaar, the profits of which, amounting to £60 or £70, had been devoted to charitable purposes among the local poor. A similar effort, assisted by an amateur concert, in 1867, produced about £100, and gave occasion to a series of very large and pleasant gatherings of people from all quarters during the Christmas week.

About the middle of December the Venerable Archdeacon McLean commenced what has since passed into an institution, by the celebration of Sunday evening services in the village of Winnipeg. No church then existed in the town, and the Archdeacon preached in the theatre, which was placed at his disposal by the public-spirited lessees. The room was generally overcrowded, and, towards spring, the meetings were discontinued in consequence of the insecurity of the flooring. The Archdeacon deserves much credit for the perseverance he has exhibited in travelling over the

two miles which separate the village from his house at St. John's, in weather, during the first winter, generally bad, and sometimes tempestuous and dark. In summer the services were resumed in the Court room at Fort Garry, and in Autumn, 1868, the small Church of the Holy Trinity was opened at Winnipeg, in which the Archdeacon continued to officiate as regularly as formerly in the Red River theatre.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

1868.

McKenney & Company; Dissolution of Partnership; Particulars of some affairs of the House—Case of Kew vs. Schultz; Capture of Schultz; His rescue—New trial—Concourse of Special Constables—Excitement at the Prairie Portage—Mr. Spence, President of the “Republic of Manitoba;” His action against McPherson for “Treason;” His Letter to the Foreign Secretary and Reply; Collapse of his Administration—“Nor’ Wester’s” Petition for Red River Elective Franchise and Representative Chamber—Counter Petition—Demonstration of Populace against the Newspaper—Walter Robert Bown, Acting Editor, prosecuted for Defamation—Apprehension of Bown—Case of Kew vs. Schultz—Evidence of H. L. Sabine—Issue of the Trial.

IN order to render fully intelligible the events which now present themselves for relation, I beg to recapitulate some facts, notices of which have been scattered through various of the preceding pages.

It will be remembered that the firm of McKenney & Co. had dissolved partnership in the autumn of 1864, and that in consequence of difficulty having risen in the adjustment of the accounts, a series of actions had been raised before the General Court, the hearing of which had been interrupted by the course taken by Schultz in May, 1866. The barrier then raised against the personal appearance of this individual before the Court had been formally removed in the following February (1867), but the plaintiff had not again brought forward his case, which remained undecided.

At the time of the dissolution of partnership one of the most considerable creditors of the firm was Mr. Frederick E. Kew of London, its commission agent in England. This gentleman visited Red River in the spring of 1865 and closed his accounts by taking from Messrs. McKenney and Schultz a “joint and several promissory note” for £1460, which was the balance of their account

still due him. On quitting the settlement, Mr. Kew appointed as his agent Mr. John Inkster, a councillor of Assiniboia and one of the principal settlers in the colony.

So early as November, 1865, Mr. Inkster instituted separate actions against Messrs. McKenney and Schultz, demanding from each half the sum still due at that date on the note. On further consideration however, perceiving that, by adopting this course, he was unnecessarily endangering the interests of his client, by holding either party to the bond responsible only for the half of the debt, whereas it was in his power to hold each severally responsible for the whole until the entire amount had been liquidated, Mr. Inkster withdrew the case before any action had been taken regarding it by the Court. In August, 1866, however he sued Mr. McKenney for the total sum then outstanding, which was about £600, the original total having been already reduced to this amount by a series of instalments paid on account. Mr. McKenney contended that he could not be sued alone for the gross sum, and demanded that his coadjutor Schultz, who was then absent from the settlement, should be proceeded against simultaneously with himself. The Judge instructed the Jury that, on such a note as the one before the Court, which was a joint and several one, either party, or both together might be sued for the gross amount as the holder might deem expedient, and the result was a verdict in favour of Mr. Kew and a Judgment of the Court accordingly.

Mr. Inkster, however, availed himself of this favourable result to require from Mr. McKenney only half the sum due, which was paid, and in May, 1867, commenced an action against Schultz, with the intention of getting the remainder from him. Though regularly cited to appear at the May Court, the latter quitted the settlement some time previous to its session after having made a declaration before a magistrate relative to his non-appearance, which was not however produced. In consequence, Judgment went against him by default, and on his return he was called to pay the balance still due Mr. Kew. At first he endeavoured to obtain a new trial, which was refused by the Judge on account of the insufficiency of the reasons assigned.

Mr. Inkster repeatedly applied to Dr. Schultz to meet the Judg-

ment, which the latter refused to do, and, after waiting for eight months without making any apparent approach to the realization of his object, he resolved to enforce it.

On the morning of Friday, 17th January, 1868, Mr. Sheriff McKenney, accompanied by two constables, proceeded to the store of Dr. Schultz, with the object of obtaining payment of the debt or putting the Judgment in force. Instead of the warrant, usual in such cases elsewhere, the practice in the district of Assiniboia has always been to provide the Sheriff with a certified copy of the Judgment of the Court, which constitutes his legal authority to levy payment of debt.

Mr. McKenney asked Schultz, in consideration of the large personal interest he had in the affair, to endeavour to arrive at a pacific understanding for the satisfaction of the creditor, but his advances were repelled. A formal demand was then made for the amount of the Judgment which was refused, and the Sheriff declared the Doctor's goods seized in the name of the Law, and ordered his satellites to remove them, pointing out a large pair of platform scales, which stood in his immediate vicinity, as a suitable object to begin with, and opening the shop door to allow them free egress. The proprietor interposed with the object of closing the door, when a scuffle ensued in the course of which, after a series of struggles and confused tumbling and rolling over the floor and among some bags lying thereon, Schultz was bound, as securely as his captors could manage, with a line found in his store and conveyed in a carriage to the prison, whither Mr. Roger Goulet, a Justice of the Peace, was summoned to hear the Sheriff's complaint of having been assaulted in the discharge of his duty. The prisoner asked that the gentleman in charge of Fort Garry, who was also a Justice of the Peace, should sit along with Mr. Goulet on the case, as he "wished a responsible officer of the Company to be present." The magistrate selected declined to interfere in the matter, and Mr. Goulet, finding the charge proven, in default of bail to appear and take his trial at the next General Quarterly Court upon the charge, committed Schultz to prison.

Meanwhile Mr. Constable Mulligan who had been left in legal custody of the prisoner's store was ordered by Mrs. Schultz to

withdraw from the premises. This he of course refused to do. Mrs. Schultz forthwith caused all the doors and windows to be barred and secured with nails and spikes, so as to guard the shop against a fresh entry on the part of the Sheriff on his return from the Court House, and detain Mulligan, a close prisoner, without food or fire, in the isolated warehouse. At nightfall, however, the dauntless public servant was honourably released from his post of duty.

Towards one o'clock on the Saturday morning about fifteen persons, among whom was Mrs. Schultz, forcibly entered the prison where Schultz was confined, overpowered the constables on duty, and, breaking open the door leading to his cell, liberated him. This done, the party adjourned along with him to his house, where report says "they made a night of it."

A "Nor' Wester Extra" was published, giving the Editor's own account of his incarceration. This document I give at full length in Appendix G, and beg the reader's attention to that sentence which closes the first paragraph: "The Sheriff meanwhile caught in England pays the other half, and then follow the events of Friday." According to this statement, Mr. Sheriff McKenney, during a visit he had paid to England in 1867, had been seized by his creditor Mr. Kew and compelled to pay that debt which he now sought to recover, ostensibly for Mr. Kew, but really to reimburse himself, using his official influence as Sheriff to perpetrate the rascality. Such was the version of the matter accepted by the Canadian Press, which commented at great length on the baneful influence exercised by a Company whose authority could shield such a public officer.

No attempt was made to re-capture Schultz or any of his confederates, but a meeting of the Council of Assiniboia was held on the 23rd of January, at which the critical condition of the settlement was discussed, and a resolution arrived at that a body of one hundred special constables should be raised, part of which might be organized into a permanent force, should the step seem advisable.

On 4th February Schultz repeated his application for a new trial, and added to the reasons he had previously urged in support of the

request that he had important testimony to produce regarding his liability under the note on which the action had been raised against him, which from his unavoidable absence at the first hearing of the case he had been unable to call. The application was now granted, the two parties, Messrs. Inkster and Schultz, entering into a regularly executed agreement that the decision to be arrived at by the Jury in the Court of the following May should be final and conclusive in the action.

On 5th February, at another meeting of the Council, a fresh order was issued, calling on all settlers who might be summoned by any of the magistrates to act in the capacity of special constables, to attend at the Court House at Fort Garry on Monday, the 10th February.

The concourse of special constables which met in obedience to the official summons on the day named amounted to about three hundred men. They were duly sworn in, but, as the crisis had passed which had led to their enrolment, their active service was not required. The Governor explained to them the chain of events which had led the Council to call them together, and dismissed them with the remuneration of ten shillings per man in return for their day's service.

The "Nor' Wester" produced its uncontradicted account of these proceedings. It called on the public to find out from what pocket the £150 had been drawn to pay the constables who had been summoned to maintain the public peace disturbed by its proprietor. It spoke of "the Red River Star Chamber Council now existing in our midst, sitting with closed doors and windows so that the public shall not see their rascally proceedings." It called attention to the amount of immorality occasioned by the expenditure complained of, in consequence of a number of the constables having employed their pay in the purchase of liquor with which they had made themselves drunk. It became suddenly possessed with a fierce though new born zeal for abstract truth, and raved against all sorts of people, every where, on account of their departure from it. It wrote of "the artful dodges made use of by a tyrannous Government" while assuring its readers "there is no crime more infamous than the violation of truth," without the

practice of which "every man must disunite himself from others, inhabit his own cave, and seek prey only for himself." "A falsehood," it remarked, "is no less an untruth, whether coming from the lips of a Secretary of State, from a Senator at Washington, from a State Senator, from a Chamber of Commerce, from a partisan Newspaper, or from a hod carrier!!" Such representations and remarks, sometimes published under the guise of "communications" addressed to the paper, and sometimes as leading articles, were largely circulated in Canada where they were read with a full belief in their truth and justice, as well as in the sincerity of their authors.

A few days after the occurrence of these events Schultz left the settlement on a visit to Canada. The Governor who, from motives of public expediency, had interested himself a good deal in his affairs, relying on certain representations made to him, became security for his personal appearance at the May Court, in a considerable sum. The "Nor' Wester" was to be edited during his absence by Walter Robert Bown, already casually mentioned by me in Chapter XI.

While these stirring events were agitating the village of Winnipeg, the neighbouring district of Portage La Prairie was the theatre of a variety of popular excitements, a prominent part in which was borne by Mr. Spence, of whose career we have for a time lost sight. In spring, 1867, he had changed his residence from Winnipeg to the Portage where he endeavoured to eke out a livelihood by keeping a retail store. Then, as usual more or less ever since its foundation, the settlement at the Portage was in a state of excitement in consequence of the bickerings of certain cliques, the members of which dignified the subjects regarding which they were at variance with the name of politics. By some means or other Mr. Spence contrived to gain the leadership of one of these parties, and the result was a serious modification of the form of Government.

The name of the settlement was changed, from Portage La Prairie to Caledonia and thence to Manitoba. The boundaries of the new jurisdiction were vast, and embraced a large section of country, including hundreds of square miles of prairie land. They



were also vaguely defined, and involved the position of parallels of latitude and degrees of longitude. In one respect the definition was sufficient to serve all temporary purposes. The eastern boundary of the republic of Manitoba was to coincide with the western limit of the municipal district of Assiniboia. A council was chosen for the new republic, and Mr. Spence was elected Chief Magistrate. His secretary was Mr. J. Finlay Wray, and his pay was, I believe, to be of an undefined amount. An oath of allegiance to the new order of things was administered to the inhabitants of Portage La Prairie.

One of the very first schemes contemplated by the new governing body for the benefit of its people was the erection of a "Government Council House and Gaol." To execute this work money was required, and the only way the new "governor" could see to raise it was by a regular system of taxation. A custom's tax on imports was resolved on, and preliminary measures taken to collect it. A notice was served, among others, upon the officer in charge of the Hudson's Bay trading post at the Portage, who replied he would pay no tax or duty on the goods imported for trade at his post unless ordered to do so by the Governor of Rupert's Land. The result was a threat from the self-styled "Governor and Council" to the effect that *when* the new gaol should be built, the rebellious agent of the Hudson's Bay Company would be brought to account.

One of the settlers at the Portage, a cobbler named Macpherson, had also made himself obnoxious to the new rulers by putting in circulation a report that the money collected with the ostensible view of building a gaol was really expended in the purchase of liquor for the consumption of the Governor and Council of Manitoba, and what was worse his story was generally believed to be true. Expostulation with the offender was vain, as he merely repeated the alleged libel with aggravations, and after suitable consideration it was resolved to indict him on a charge of treason. A warrant for his apprehension was drawn up and a couple of constables dispatched to execute it, while the assembled Council sat in silence round a cheerful stove-fire, calmly waiting the development of events.

After the lapse of a period of time much longer than had been anticipated, the offender was dragged before the tribunal in a state of great excitement, his dishevelled hair, contorted visage and ragged clothes bearing strong testimony to the resistance he had offered to the minions of power. The Court, after composing itself to the gravity created by the interests its action was calculated to affect, had not proceeded far with its investigation when the house was surrounded by an excited mob of the prisoner's friends who, hearing of the outrage which had been effected, came to liberate him. The door flew open without delay, and a couple of men armed with pistols entered the chamber, who, after abusing their friend as a "fool" for sitting where he was, turned to his judges whom they attacked with such vigour and effect that, after a useless attempt at resistance, Governor and Council were ignominiously turned out of doors, overwhelmed with derision, leaving their late prisoner and his friends in possession of the scene of action.

The actual capture of the traitor was said to have been thoroughly ridiculous. The two constables had gone in search of him when somewhat tipsy, and their conduct in singing convivial couplets at the full pitch of their voices while walking along the track first attracted the attention of neighbours to the object of their journey. On arriving at the scene of action only one entered the house. He found Macpherson quietly cleaning his revolver. Producing his warrant, he tried single-handed to enforce it, and his friend on entering found him "in close grips" with his prisoner, who contrived to elude both of them, running away with the object of passing the boundary of the district of Assinibois before he could be overtaken. The constables, however, got a horse, and rapidly gained on the object of their search, who, on seeing them, quitted the beaten track and ran out among the deep snow on the Plains, whither he was pursued on foot and ultimately fell an easy prey.

While on a visit to the village of Winnipeg, during the month of February, Mr. Spence called on the Governor of Rupert's Land on business relative to his proceedings at Portage La Prairie, and was informed by the latter that no duty would be paid on the

Hudson's Bay Company's goods imported unless levied on authority derived from the Company, and that he and his Council could collect duty only from such as paid it voluntarily, while they or their agents might be legally resisted in any attempt to levy it by force, and moreover, the administration of the oath of allegiance which had taken place was an illegal act and laid him open to a prosecution.

Mr. Spence thereupon addressed a letter\* to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to which, in the ensuing August, the following reply appeared in the "Nor' Wester":

DOWNING STREET,

May 30th, 1868.

"SIR,—I am directed by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos to inform you that your letter of the 19th of February last, addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has been forwarded to this department and that His Grace has also received a copy of a letter addressed by you to Mr. Angus Morrison, a member of the Canadian Parliament, dated the 17th February last.

"In these communications you explain the measures that have been taken for creating a so-called self-supporting Government in Manitoba, within the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company.

"The people of Manitoba are probably not aware that the creation of a separate government in the manner set forth in these papers has no force in law, and that they have no authority to create or organize a Government, or even to set up municipal institutions (properly so-called) for themselves, without reference to the Hudson's Bay Company or to the Crown.

"Her Majesty's Government are advised that there is no objection to the people of Manitoba voluntarily submitting themselves to rules and regulations which they may agree to observe for the greater protection and improvement of the territory in which they live, but which will have no force as regards others than those who may have so submitted themselves.

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\* This letter will be found on page 484.

"As it is inferred that the intention is to exercise jurisdiction over offenders in criminal cases, to levy taxes compulsorily, and to attempt to put in force other powers which can only be exercised by a properly constituted Government, I am desired to warn you that you and your coadjutors are acting illegally in this matter, and that, by the course which you are adopting, you are incurring grave responsibilities.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,"

\* \* \*

The account of the foregoing proceedings at the Portage reached Canada about the same time as that of the disturbances rising from the case of *Kew vs. Schultz*, and the construction put upon the news in that colony was that, goaded by a sense of the misgovernment of the Hudson's Bay Company, the people of Red River had risen in revolt under the leadership of Mr. Spence to organise a republic on British ground. The subject being discussed in the Canadian House of Commons, the Honourable Thomas D'Arcy McGee expressed a doubt as to the correctness of the version which had reached them, as he said, from what he knew of Mr. Spence, he believed him quite incapable of acting as described.

Mr. Spence, on learning the misunderstanding which had arisen, was naturally very indignant. Mr McGee, though defending him in general terms, had unfortunately failed to state the grounds on which he rested his opinion of the unhappy "Governor," and left it an open question for debate among those within the limits of his jurisdiction whether Mr. McGee had meant Mr. Spence was, in his opinion, morally incapable of gaol breaking or mentally incapacitated for filling the high office of head of their Government. Unfortunately, before Mr. Spence could communicate with Mr. McGee, so as to clear up the doubt, the latter had perished by assassination, and the question remains, I believe, still undecided. With regard to the fact that his communication was addressed to

the Foreign Secretary, I feel justified in saying this was a mere error rising from ignorance on the part of its writer, and in no way owing to any desire to approach the exalted official he addressed in the capacity of representative of an independent nationality. Mr. Spence's loyal feelings are well known, and evinced themselves very decidedly in the scorn with which he rejected the imputation cast on his fidelity to the Queen, when, among all the other current rumours circulated to his disparagement, it was whispered, without a shadow of probability, or of proof, that he had served in the army as a private soldier, and was a deserter. It will be noticed in reading the above narrative that his government of Manitoba was in no way connected with the imprisonment or illegal liberation of Schultz.

Taking advantage of the popular excitement occasioned by the above events, our local organ advocated the universal signature of a petition addressed to the much-abused Governor and Council of Assiniboia, praying for an alteration in the system of Government. This document asserted the opinion that one principal cause of the Red River grievances might be found in the fact that the people have no voice in the conduct of affairs, and, moreover, that the Red River people were capable of choosing competent persons to make laws to govern themselves. It declared the belief of all its subscribers to be, "That all men *possessing common sense* have a right to a voice in the Government which they live under," and, on these grounds, it requested that the Council would at once adopt a measure giving them the right to elect their own councillors, and that it would "give this petition the immediate and respectful consideration which the united and expressed wish of a large number of people deserves."

While strongly urging on the Council the policy of conceding the points demanded in this paper, the "Nor' Wester" did not conceal its apprehension that, "without being accepted or rejected, it may be put into the Fort Garry or Fenchurch street office waste paper basket, and the unfortunate signers laughed at for their pains." With regard to the ultimate fate of the document, I am not aware whether or not the presentiment just quoted proved prophetic, but the right of the franchise it was certainly not in the power of the Council petitioned to grant.

In contradiction of the statements published by the "Nor' Wester" newspaper, and in opposition to the petition of those individuals who professed their belief in the principle that the possession of "common sense" constituted the true qualification for the exercise of an elective franchise, an address to the Governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company was laid before the public, which was invited to sign it. The chief feature of this new document was a denial of the truth of the assertion of the "Nor' Wester" that the late unlawful liberation of Schultz from gaol had the countenance of the majority of the Red River population. It was signed by 804 settlers.

One day, about the middle of April, one of the principal merchants in Winnipeg, accompanied by 13 persons, chiefly of the French half-breed section of the population, called at the "Nor' Wester" office, with the intention of demanding the insertion in that newspaper of their memorial. Dr. Bown, who, in the absence of Schultz, officiated as editor, was, at the time when the deputation called, absent on a visit to the lower extremity of the settlement, and the paper was received by his foreman, Mr. James Stewart, the same individual mentioned in another part of this volume as unpleasantly identified with the Corbett case. The document, though received, remained unpublished, the reason assigned being that the names had not been supplied, and that without these the newspaper would not give it a place in its columns. It was added that the acting editor had been "anxious to have given the petition an insertion in his paper," but that, from a desire to put him in a false position, the instigators of the memorial had determined to attempt an intimidation at once, by demanding an insertion, though a civil request would have been sufficient to attain the desired end, and, although it was not affirmed that any open intimidation had been offered by the deputation which actually called, yet the mere presence of fourteen men, when only one might have sufficed, was considered objectionable.

On the side of the memorialists it was alleged that the whole story of the "Nor' Wester" was a series of evasions to avoid the unpleasant necessity of publishing a numerously signed document directly contradicting their previously uncontradicted malversation

of facts, and it was at length seriously determined to force the conductors of the newspaper to comply with their demands.

On the afternoon of Sunday, the 26th April, the Governor of Rupert's Land received a formal note from Bown, informing him that, according to information of undoubted authenticity which he had received, an attempt would be made on the following day to destroy the "Nor' Wester" press, and demanding, as "a British subject," that protection which every vassal of the crown was entitled to expect from the authorities.

The information referred to was understood to have reference to some announcement of a nature tending to a disturbance of the peace, which had been publicly made at the door of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Boniface when the congregation was dispersing on the morning of the day referred to.

The day after his receipt of the note claiming protection the Governor informed Bown he would guard him and his property to the best of his ability, and requested him to call at Fort Garry.

Almost simultaneously with the acting editor arrived the rioters, whom the misrepresentations of the Periodical with which he was connected had excited to a breach of the peace. They were all of the French half-breed population. They said they were on their way to the newspaper office, whence they intended to take the press with the object of depositing it in the gaol, thus stopping the issue of the paper, and warning Bown that he was required to leave the country within three days, as they considered, from the manner in which he was conducting the "Nor' Wester," that he would cause disorder in the settlement.

The Governor, who was utterly unsupported by any material force, succeeded, by using his personal influence, in pacifying the crowd. Bown was again requested to publish the objectionable memorial, but pleaded want of paper to issue another number of the newspaper before the arrival of Schultz from St. Paul with a fresh supply. He asked his interlocutors *how many copies* they wanted? They replied, I think, fifty, and were informed if they had made such a demand at first no misunderstanding would have occurred. A day was named when the required number of copies of the memorial should be printed.

On the morning of the day appointed two of the leaders of the mob called at the "Nor' Wester" office, and received from the hands of Stewart, the foreman, in absence of Bown, who had not yet entered the office, the required papers which, before paying for them, they took to the post office, with the object of examining them so as to convince themselves they had been correctly printed. As the men were unlettered French Canadians, and the paper was printed in English, it was necessary that the examination should be made by other than they. While the postmaster was inspecting the documents, Bown, who had been informed by his subordinate of the transaction which had taken place, entered the house, and, along with several expressions of an abusive nature, applied the term "thieves" to the two men. In palliation of his intemperate conduct he set up the plea that the papers had never been delivered to the holders with the intention they would leave his office before paying the stipulated price, and explained that Stewart had merely quitted them momentarily to inform his principal of their arrival, and had on his return to receive payment for the printing, been surprised to find them gone.

The result was a suit instituted by the Canadians against the acting editor, requiring damages on account of defamation to a considerable extent. The question was tried at the ensuing May General Court, and ended with a verdict in favour of the plaintiffs, granting them twenty shillings each as damages, and the full costs. The total amount to be paid by Bown was about five pounds. He refused to pay it, and the requisite legal process having been gone through, he was arrested.

One day the mess at Fort Garry was a little surprised during the hour of dinner, to hear a violent disturbance as of struggling at the outer door of the house in which they were assembled. Dr. Cowan, the gentleman in charge, was called out, and found Bown in a state of shrilly screaming excitement in the inexorable hands of that indefatigable public servant, Mr. Constable Mulligan. He had been arrested for the debt, and shrieked at Dr. Cowan a demand for instant liberation accompanied by confused remarks but "holding the Company responsible," and being a "British subject." Dr. Cowan in no very complimentary language, asked



Mulligan what he meant in bringing that man to him? Mulligan's answer was to the effect that he had done so in compliance with a very pressing request on the part of his prisoner. Dr. Cowan refused to have anything to do with the business, and Bown was removed to prison, where he remained in confinement for about one hour. At the end of that period the requisite sum was paid into the hands of the Sheriff by a pensioner named Bryan Devlin, the keeper of a so-called "restaurant" or small tavern in the village of Winnipeg. Devlin alleged he paid the sum from his own pocket in recognition of previous kindness shown him by Bown, who was immediately discharged from custody.

Shortly after the occurrence of these events, a letter appeared in the Toronto "Globe" signed "Canadensis" professing to give a truthful narrative of the same. The writer, amid a variety of other fictitious statements alleged that the Company, after having had recourse to mob law, for the purpose of intimidating the press, had paused in alarm on seeing it had gone too far, and had paid the judgment of five pounds, issued against Bown, in order to escape further difficulty. This statement, I am authorised to state, is false.

Bown left the colony some days after his incarceration, indulging the usual threats as to suing the Hudson's Bay Company for fabulous sums in the Canadian courts. If instituted at all, these suits appear to have met their due reward.

The "Nor' Wester" in concluding its notices regarding the "memorial" at the root of all these troubles professed to make an "exposure of the late humbug petition which the designers tried so hard and failed so signally to push into our columns." A comparison between this statement and that made a few weeks previously, in which the acting editor represented himself as "anxious to have given the petition an insertion in this issue," will save me the trouble and unpleasantness of further commenting on the affair.

At the May court the action of Kew vs. Schultz also came for hearing. It will be remembered that the parties in this case had come under a mutual engagement that the verdict of the jury should be absolutely final. This had been named by the judge, as the

sole condition on which he would consent to grant a new trial. The plaintiff's attorney produced the joint and several notes on which his action was based, along with the account of moneys paid in partial liquidation of the debt by the two parties liable, Schultz and McKenney. The balance due was a sum of a little more than £296 which was now required at the hands of Schultz.

The testimony on which the latter rested his case was that of Herbert L. Sabine, a land surveyor in the colony, who had been in the service of Schultz, as clerk, at the date of Mr. Kew's visit to Red River in 1865. This person swore that, one day during the term of the said visit of Mr. Kew, he had been witness of the following transaction between the latter and his employer. Schultz had paid over to Kew the sum of £275, the only evidence of the receipt of which was to be the testimony of Mr. Sabine who saw it and heard the verbal agreement between the two men that the affair was to be kept "quiet, and the money was to be paid on the debt, but not to be marked on the note."

This assertion entirely changed the position of parties. The judge attempted to elicit by pointed questions how much Mr. Sabine might know as distinguished from what he might think of this singular transaction, but was interrupted by the excited protestations of the defendant, who objected to have his witness harassed by the court or "to be put in a false position before the jury." As Mr. Kew was in London, and as nobody in court had ever heard of the payment, which did not appear on the account current, the plaintiff's attorney was quite unprovided with evidence to rebut the assertion of Sabine, and after the judge had charged the jury to the best of his ability, they retired. After several hours absence a verdict was brought in allowing Mr. Kew twenty one pounds instead of £296 claimed.

I beg again to draw the attention of the reader to a statement in Appendix G, giving an account of defendant's liberation from prison, copied from a special extra of the newspaper of which he was editor, "the Sheriff meanwhile caught in England *pays the other half*; and then follow the events of Friday"; and would remark that, if this statement be true, and the evidence given

by Sabine also reliable, Mr. Kew had already received payment, once from Schultz in secret at Red River Settlement in 1865, and again by some means unknown from McKenney in England in 1867, of the sum for which he, in 1868, sued Schultz in the Red River Courts.

The Governor of Rupert's Land evinced his estimate of the truth of either story by immediately forwarding to Mr. Kew the entire sum of £296 on his own personal account. On this transaction becoming known I heard it stated out of doors that the Governor was legally compelled to take this course. This is an untruth. His reason for acting as he did was, I believe, grounded on the fact that the interest he had taken in procuring a new trial of the case had rendered him an involuntary instrument in the perpetration of a fraud.

On hearing the issue of his case Mr. Kew wrote a number of letters to individuals resident in the colony, whose London agent he was, entirely bearing out the Governor's views. These letters were not considered private, but were shown by their recipients to a number of their acquaintances.

This was done at Mr. Kew's request, with the aim of clearing his character from a stain of at least carelessness as an accountant. He also made a solemn statutory declaration before the Lord Mayor in London, in which, while recounting the circumstances, he denied the truth of the facts as sworn by Sabine.

Mr. Kew acted, of course, under legal advice in these and other steps taken by him in London, after the receipt of intelligence of the adverse verdict, and the declaration made and forwarded to Red River is supposed to possess some significance as yet known only to some of those concerned.

## CHAPTER XXX.

1868.

Destructive Hurricane—"Nor' Wester"—Retirement of Schultz—  
Visit of General Marcy and party—Prairie tour of Professor Sands;  
His feats of Natural Magic and Legerdemain—Rev. George Young—  
Death by violence at Prairie Portage—The Queen vs. McLean—Red  
River Famine and Relief Committee—Mr. Snow's Canadian Road operations—  
Mr. Mair, the Canadian Poet; His Prose efforts and their  
startling effects.

ABOUT an hour before sunrise on the morning of Friday, the 3rd July, the settlement was visited by a hurricane such as had not previously occurred within the experience of any of its inhabitants. On the morning of the preceding day a thunderstorm had taken place without producing much of a cooling effect on the weather, which, throughout the entire summer, was unusually hot and sultry; and, from the appearance of the clouds on the evening before the tempest, it was expected that a second thunderstorm might occur. The sudden violence with which it commenced about two o'clock in the morning wakened the inhabitants from their sound repose. The heavens were lighted with perpetual brilliant flashes, while thunder echoed from towering clouds piled in the blazing sky. After half an hour the rain began to fall in torrents and after the lapse of another hour, during a slight lull in the thunderstorm, the wind broke out in full force from the moment of its commencement and lasted altogether for about one hour more.

The amount of property destroyed was very large. The Church of the Holy Trinity, in process of erection in the village of Winnipeg, was lifted in a mass from its foundation and dropped on the ground a heap of broken timbers. Three of the carpenters employed in its construction were sleeping in the house; two of them escaped, the third was killed. The spire of St. Andrew's

Church was blown down through the roof of the main building, while another place of worship was literally blown into a ruin. The "Nor' Wester" office made a very narrow escape in consequence of the tornado striking it obliquely. The amount of private property destroyed was very large; roofs were torn off, miles of fencing carried away, and entire buildings displaced.

On Sunday, 26th July, General R. B. Marcy of the United States Army, arrived, with the object of paying the settlement a very brief visit. During the period of which I have written its detailed annals Red River had not, previous to the event now recorded, been favoured with the presence of any gentleman holding distinguished official position in the neighbouring country. General Marcy was Inspector General of the North Western Department, and was on his annual tour of inspection to the different posts within his circuit. Having visited Pembina in execution of his official duties the General left his military escort at that place, and accompanied by Captain Warner and J. T. Sweringen Esq., of St. Louis, attended by a light travelling apparatus and a few servants, he paid a flying visit to the colony. Driving to Lower Fort Garry, and proceeding thence in a light boat to the mouth of Red River, the party glanced at Lake Winnipeg and returned without delay to Pembina, thence to continue their tour over the wide extent of territory embraced within General Marcy's military jurisdiction.

About the same time the colony was favoured with the presence of a celebrity of humbler position and of another character, who might nevertheless, I believe, claim to be the first civilized member of his guild to visit the remote district of Assiniboia. Professor Sands "the World-Renowned Magician and Ventriloquist" issued his advertisements of entertainments to be given on three successive evenings in the Court room, the use of which had been allowed him for the purpose. His assemblies were well attended, and according to his account his audience was one of the most intelligent he ever had the pleasure of addressing. The feats which most puzzled his spectators were two in number. Thrusting an ugly looking carving knife through his right arm, he walked up and down the room, permitting all so disposed to inspect the

bleeding limb; but, fearful lest the finer feelings of his friends should be wounded, he assured them the process under contemplation "If it did not hurt them, would not hurt him," and finally removed the knife and healed the wound before them all. Again he requested any of his auditors so disposed on the following evening to bring with them their own pistol, powder and shot and try the effect of lead on his person. Mr. James McKay, one of the most successful Buffalo hunters in the country, loaded a pistol with a charge such as he afterwards said had repeatedly in his hands killed a buffalo, and, taking slow steady aim at Mr. Sands, pulled the trigger. When the deafening report had died away, and the fears of the audience permitted them to glance at the effect of Mr. McKay's rash act, the Professor stood intact on a chair with a candle in one hand, a large ball in the other, and a leaden bullet safe between his teeth. The latter bore the marks impressed on it by McKay, before ramming it home. Many other clever tricks, including that known as the "Davenport trick," were also performed.

A large portion of the time occupied by the entertainments was spent in listening to the cautions of the professor against the practice of gambling more especially in unknown society. Wonderful were the stories he told, more especially of "young men," whose inexperience on the subject his counsels had enlightened to their incredible advantage and gratitude, as also of others, who, in ignorance of the world's ways, had stumbled into horrible and ruinous indiscretions. His remarks of this nature were illustrated by very clever tricks with cards, and magic box and ball, showing how delusive is the evidence of eyesight when imposed on by expert adepts in legerdemain. He formed a class, to members of which he taught his tricks, including that of ventriloquism, in consideration of a very moderate fee. He stated that, after a lifetime spent in travel among Hindoo, Brahmin, East Indian and Chinese jugglers, during which he had enjoyed considerable acquaintance with Signor Bosco, Professor Anderson and other European celebrities, he was about to retire from business and his feats were, therefore, worth but little to him. His sole objects in the present trip were to recruit his health and raise funds for the completion

of a little cottage at St. Cloud in which he hoped to end his life.

Remembering these touching communications it was with surprise and pity that some of his hearers received intelligence several months subsequently, that the poor man was living in destitute circumstances at St. Cloud. It was credibly reported that, on leaving Red River Settlement, he had visited Devil's Lake, where the possession of a considerable quantity of rum, in purchase of which he had invested the profits of his tour, had brought him into unpleasant relations with the authorities at Fort Totten, where, and at Fort Abercrombie, which he afterwards visited, he lost all his possessions, including his travelling waggon and the stage apparatus used in the practice of his craft, through neglect of his own strenuous advice in gambling with the soldiers at the military stations referred to.

While the Red River Court room was on weekdays the scene of these profane doings, it was fully taken up on Sundays with congregations attending religious services. In the morning the Rev. George Young, of the Wesleyan body, newly arrived from Canada, conducted the worship of his people, and in the afternoon the Rev. John Black of the Presbyterian Communion, followed in the evening by Archdeacon McLean, of the Church of England, drew fair audiences from the village of Winnipeg. Later in the season the Presbyterian Church in the neighbourhood was completed, the Church of the Holy Trinity was rebuilt, on a very contracted scale, from the ruins in which it had been laid by the storm of the previous July, and Mr. Young succeeded in getting completed his house containing a large apartment to be used as a temporary Meeting hall until the erection of a suitable place of worship can be completed in spring. These improvements effected, the Court-room was abandoned to the fulfilment of its more exclusive purposes.

The "Nor' Wester" of 31st July, 1868, announced the retirement of Schultz from its proprietorship and management, and contained the nomination of Walter Robert Bown as the new proprietor. One of the first reforms introduced by the latter was the exchange of the old fortnightly issue for one each week without any increase

being made in the terms of subscription, and the obvious improvement of printing and regularity of delivery gave evidence of the attention of men who made the publication of the paper their undivided business.

The new proprietor had, as already mentioned, come rudely in contact with a section of the public while acting as editor during the absence of Schultz in spring. Regarding his attitude toward the Hudson's Bay Company, he was understood to be possessed with a remarkable monomania that the corporation in question harboured the desire "to crucify him." The Company's title of "Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay" and the persevering caricature of the great monopoly under the similitude of a broken down, superannuated shabby-genteel old lady, recurred so frequently in his journal as to attract notice and suggest the idea either of a deplorable poverty of inventive wit on the part of the staff, or a gratifying absence of other adventurers and shabby-genteel people from its connection. The editor's own chosen character was that of "a British subject" and the favourite topics on which he enlarged were misrepresentation in high quarters and the grasping, grinding propensities of a clique of unprincipled foreign fur-traders. With regard to "misrepresentation" it is well known in the colony that the local paper itself has frequently indulged in it; but, in the absence of any opposing newspaper it is difficult to imagine where it can have occurred, except under the form of responsible official reports or in the confidence of private converse, under circumstances beyond the control of the managers of that sheet. Respecting the tyranny of the Company, the regular readers of the "Nor' Wester" ought often to have marvelled at the inconsistency of their contemporary, which represented the wonderful superannuated old lady above mentioned alternately grinding her subjects with the iron pressure of an irresistible power, and again sitting impotent in the presence of mob law excited by the action of a newspaper, in dread of being crushed under the smallest interference.

Towards the close of June another case of death by violence occurred at the Prairie Portage. A half-breed named Francis Demarais had been shot with a pistol by a settler named Alexan-



der McLean, on 15th of May, and, to quote the words of the indictment after describing the assault "of which said mortal wound the said Francis Demarais, from the said 15th day of May until the 20th day of June aforesaid, did languish, and languishing did live, on which said 20th day of June the said Francis Demarais, of the said mortal wound died."

The government inaugurated by Mr. Spence had been unable to execute its project of building a gaol and court house, and its chief magistrate, having abandoned the helm of affairs on the matter-of-fact search for the means of self support, was trying to manufacture salt at the neighbouring Salt Springs near Lake Manitoba. Under these circumstances of civil disorganization, the documents relative to the outrage described were forwarded to Mr. Judge Black.

Early in August the latter, accompanied by the Governor of Rupert's Land, visited the Portage, where, after an investigation had been held, the accused was committed to take his trial for manslaughter, but found bail for his appearance before the General Quarterly Court, meeting on the 24th of August. He failed to appear on the day specified, but, as further security for his appearance on the 25th of September was offered, the Court agreed to defer the trial till that day. Meanwhile the grand jury returned a true bill.

A special court having thus been appointed to try the case, the prisoner appeared on the day named for its session. Mr. Enos Stutsman, "special agent of the United States Treasury" at Pembina, had been retained as attorney for the defence which he commenced by admitting he had advised his client to absent himself on the previous occasion, but added, according to the report published in our local contemporary, "that had he have known when he first took the case in hand as much about the people of Red River, and about Red River Courts as he had since learned in Court, he would never have counselled his client not to appear and stand trial at that sitting of the Court." Although the bonds originally entered into for the appearance of the prisoner had been forfeited, the Court permitted them to be cancelled.

The story of the murder was, I believe, as follows: John Mc-

Lean, the father of Alexander McLean, was employed in a potatoe field close to his house, when Francis Demarais arrived in a state of intoxication, and acted in a manner highly calculated to provoke violent resistance. Running away suddenly, he returned some time afterwards armed with a gun, with which he fired at the spot where the elder McLean was standing, but without effect, and immediately thereupon took to flight. The prisoner, who stood in a position more favourable for shooting the retreating half-breed than did his father, fired after deceased, whom he hit with the already recorded fatal effect.

The investigation to which these scandalous events had given rise disclosed the circumstance that men and women, at the Prairie Portage, were in the habit of constantly carrying firearms for self-protection. The jury after hearing the case, acquitted the prisoner.

Ever since the autumn of 1867, when the swarms of locusts which then invaded the country had moved away after depositing their eggs in the ground, the prospect of a total destruction of the crops of 1868 had been forced on the attention of the people in so unmistakable a manner, that its realization early in spring, when the army of young grasshoppers cleared the field of every vestige of vegetation, cannot be said to have taken the colony by surprise.

The multitude of insects was so great as to render it difficult to convey an appreciable idea of their numbers to the minds of those absent from the scene of their devastations. Piled in heaps about the walls of Fort Garry, they were carted away and burned up to prevent the effluvia from their decaying bodies contaminating the atmosphere during the stifling heats of an unusually warm summer.

Early in August the "Nor' Wester" published an earnest appeal for aid, addressed to the inhabitants of Canada and the United States. The heads of the various religious bodies, resident in the settlement, supported the statements of the newspaper, by letters addressed to the editor, fully bearing out all that had been advanced. A sergeant of pensioners named Michael Power, wrote a letter to the "Times," explaining the calamity which had overtaken the colony, and his communication, which duly appeared,

was succeeded by one in the same newspaper, from the Right Hon. the Earl of Kimberley, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and another from Mr. F. E. Kew, whose name occurs so prominently in the preceding chapter.

Such was the almost unhopd success of these appeals to the liberality of the people of England, Canada, and the States, that, on receipt of the intelligence of their benevolent activity, the anxiety prevalent on the public mind, in the territory of Rupert's Land, with regard to provisions, visibly declined.

But while these attempts were being made to interest the outside world, in the difficulties of the Red River people, the Governor and Council of Assiniboia exerted themselves to the utmost of their ability to mitigate, with the funds at their disposal, the terrors of the approaching destitution. At a meeting held on the 10th of August, this body voted a sum of £1600 to be immediately spent in the following proportions. £600 were appropriated to the purchase of seed wheat, and £500 to that of flour, to be procured in the United States. The remaining £500 were set apart for the provision of twine, hooks, and ammunition, to be distributed among such settlers as desired to attempt the fisheries in the neighbouring lakes. The clergy of the various denominations were the agents for the immediate division of the latter grant in their respective parishes.

As the season advanced, however, prospects grew darker. The Buffalo hunt had been during the summer a complete failure, and no improvement took place in autumn. The numerous settlers who had gone to pass the winter on the lake fishing grounds, returned to the settlement with the disastrous intelligence that the fisheries had failed; and to complete the universal helplessness, the rabbit and the pheasant had entirely disappeared.

Thus all the sources whence the colony draws its usual provisions had been cut off. It will be remembered these sources are home agriculture, the Buffalo hunts on the Plains, the fisheries on Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba, most productive in autumn, and the generally plentiful supply of rabbits and game, which inhabit all the wood country throughout the borders of the Red River and Assiniboine.

When the food provided by the grant of the Council of Assiniboia and the liberality of outside friends had arrived in the settlement, the means taken to regulate its distribution were as follows: A central organization named "the Red River Co-operative Relief Committee" was composed of the principal gentlemen resident in the colony, including the two Bishops, the Governor, and others. Excepting four, afterwards added to their number, the members of this committee were named by the St. Paul and Canadian Committees which collected the funds first remitted to their Board.

To act under this association, sub-committees were appointed in all the different parishes, and instructed to ascertain the true amount of suffering in their various districts. In accordance with this order detailed lists were constructed showing the number of families and individuals, children and adults requiring assistance, and forwarded to the central committee. By the latter, each name on the lists was read, and no means were left unused to prevent misrepresentation.

During the winter the central committee has met once a week, each Wednesday afternoon, and considered the reports from the parochial sub-committees, supplying the latter on each occasion with renewed supplies to what amount their exigencies require for distribution among the families of their districts. The greatest issue of flour by the central committee for one week has been forty-three barrels, weighing each one hundred and ninety-six pounds.

The entire sum yet placed at the disposal of the committee, exclusive of the local grant of £1600 amounts to £7500. Of this £3000 has come from England, \$3600 from Canada and £900 from the United States. As the flour was received by the agent of the committee at St. Paul from time to time during the winter, it was necessary to transport it over the plains by the labourious and expensive means of horse and ox sledges. Fort Abercrombie, two hundred and sixty miles from St Paul and two hundred and fifty from the settlement head-quarters, has been a central point in the freighting arrangements. From St. Paul to Abercrombie the means of carriage are easily procurable at the rate of 12s. per hundred pounds. From the latter place to Fort Garry the trans-

port has been accomplished by settlers dispatched over the prairies for the purpose. It has been an article in the contracts entered into with these men, that their remuneration should be paid in the provisions they were to carry, of which they have received a quantity varying between one-half and two-thirds of the gross amount as cost of freight. This consideration will show the reader how serious is the modification in the figures representing the money above mentioned at the disposal of the trustees, necessitated by the item of transport, before a correct idea can be gained of the provisions available for distribution among the people to whom they have been sent. It will be observed, however, that, as the freighters are all settlers, the fact that they are paid in the flour they bring relieves the committee to a certain extent by decreasing the number of families dependent on it for aid.

The liberality of the public has been great and unexpected. The isolation of the colony had almost forbidden its inhabitants to believe in the possibility of a living interest being taken in its affairs by the busy people dwelling in the great outside world. When, therefore, the first hints reached them of the intention of public bodies in the western towns of the United States, to supplement by liberal grants the effort at self-help put forth by the Council of Assiniboia, the intelligent part of the population felt a great relief. Somewhat later intelligence arrived of the prompt and princely action taken by wealthy men in London, in response to the Earl of Kimberley's letter to the *Times* above mentioned. The first intimation received of the scale on which the latter subscription had been conducted was the receipt of a copy of a cable telegram from the Hudson's Bay House in London to the Company's agent at St. Paul, authorizing him immediately to spend £2000 in purchase of provisions. Subsequently numerous sums arrived from various places in Canada and, throughout the winter, from all the three sources just specified a steady stream of donations has flowed in on the Relief Committee.

Late in autumn a party under the superintendence of Mr. John A. Snow, a Canadian surveyor, came in the employment of the Canadian Government to commence the construction of a road between Red River Settlement and the Lake of the Woods, with

a view to the ultimate completion of a direct line of through communication between Red River and Lake Superior. It will be remembered that, in Chapter XXVIII, a notice occurred of the commencement, in 1867, of the works at the eastern extremity of this road, between Thunder Bay and Dog Lake. One object of the Canadian Government in commencing operations at Red River in the autumn of 1868, was represented as being the relief of the prevailing destitution by the employment of people on the work to be paid in provisions. The idea of giving men, capable of manual labor, nothing, without exacting an adequate equivalent in service rendered, is one the realization of which is surely highly desirable. The amount of relief produced by the efforts carried on under Mr. Snow has, however, been comparatively small, seeing the highest number of men he has employed at any one time is forty, and the highest wages he has given £4 per month, exclusive of rations. The workmen have been paid in flour and pork imported for that purpose, the former being sold them at the rate of five pence per pound, and the latter at one shilling per pound.

Along with Mr. Snow arrived Mr. Charles Mair, his paymaster. This gentleman had just published a volume of poems, the newspaper notices and criticisms of which reached Red River almost simultaneously with himself. The *Toronto Globe* praised his production, I believe, very highly, and the Provincial papers generally, from the terms in which they mentioned the author, appeared to accept him as "The Canadian Poet." The only notice of the work I have myself seen was a paragraph in the *Saturday Review*. It was very brief but striking, as setting forth certain characteristics of the poet which have recommended themselves as true to a number of people who have enjoyed the opportunity of observing his public conduct under prosaic circumstances.

Messrs. Snow and Mair, after a short stay at the George Hotel, quitted it to take up their residence with Dr. Schultz, whom they were understood to have selected as their principal local agent; Mr. Spence "ex-Governor of Manitoba," who was an old acquaintance of Mr. Snow, and Mr. Herbert L. Sabine, whose name was

mentioned in the preceding chapter, in connection with the case of Kew vs. Schultz, were engaged to act as subordinates under Mr. Snow.

Operations were commenced at a spot called Oak Point about thirty miles east from Fort Garry, at the point where the prairie land ends, and the wood country, which extends away eastwards to the Lake of the Woods, commences. Through this timbered region it was the object of the expedition to cut a "winter road." Oak Point, or, as the French call it, Pointe de Chêne, is a small settlement of French half-breeds which has gradually increased from the period of its commencement in 1861 to its present size. Its progress may be compared to that of St. Andrew's Parish or the Prairie Portage, which, though now densely populated regions of the colony, have risen, as the reader will remember, from very small beginnings. A church exists at Oak Point but there is no resident priest, clerical duty being performed by missionaries from the Roman Catholic head-quarters at St. Boniface.

While the members of Mr. Snow's expedition were settling down into regular working routine, Mr. Mair varied the monotony of existence in the backwoods by writing to his Canadian friends letters containing his impressions of Red River Settlement, its people and neighbourhood. Some of the parties to whom these communications were addressed, thinking them creditable to the poet's pen, published long extracts in the columns of an obscure local newspaper, whence they were immediately copied by the leading representatives of the Canadian press and circulated broadcast throughout the Dominion as the prose productions of its poet. The issue of the Toronto "Globe" containing the first of these documents reached Red River towards the beginning of January 1869. The entire series published consisted of three letters, dated respectively 3rd, 19th and 27th November, 1868, from which I beg to lay the following extracts before the reader in the order in which they arrived. It will be observed that, being addressed to different people, they are not intended to form a connected narrative. The first letter was dated,

" WINNIPEG, 3rd November, 1868.

" There are the Red River half-breeds with their oxen and

carts in strings of fifty, one hundred and sometimes two hundred carts together. The creaking of the wheels is indescribable; it is like no sound you ever heard in all your life, and makes your blood run cold. These all camp out in the prairie together without blankets or any other covering than their capotes. Their load is about one thousand pounds, and it takes them two months to make the trip from Red River to St. Paul and back, travelling at the rate of twenty miles per day. They are a harmless obsequious set of men and will, I believe, be very useful here when the country gets filled up. \* \* \* \* \*

"I now come to my impressions of the country. What I write depend upon as strictly the truth. This is the richest country in the world. You cannot conceive the wonderful fertility of the soil. Everywhere the exposures on the river banks exhibit a solid depth of ten, fifteen and even thirty feet of soil, a firm clay loam over which are superimposed in this immediate district one or two feet of loamy clay and elsewhere the same or a greater depth of pure vegetable loam the fertility of which is practically inexhaustible. The only drawback westward is the absence of wood, but, as soon as railroads are introduced, the vast forests of enormous timber which cumber the North Saskatchewan and eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, the great beds of coal and the timber of the eastern country will all be made tributary to the wants of the Prairie farmers. I can say no more about the soil, that is a fixed fact.

"The village here (Winnipeg) consists of some fifty houses, all large, snug and respectable, half a dozen stores, all driving a brisk trade, and a profitable one in furs; a church or two; and a hotel with two billiard tables."

The second was dated,

OAK POINT, November 27th, 1868.

"Continually we either met or overtook the Red River cart train—strange rigs and strange drivers. \* \* \* To hear a thousand of those wheels all groaning and creaking on at one time is a sound never to be forgotten; it is simply hellish. \* \* \* \* \*

"We were alone and camped out always on some part of the Red River, which is a beautiful stream, lined its whole length with oaks, but inconceivably crooked, and reached the south side of the



Assiniboine one evening just after dark, the convent bells of St. Boniface sounding sweetly over the water. We then crossed our rig on the scow to the northern bank, and five minutes afterwards found ourselves in Mr. Emmerling's hotel, amidst a heterogeneous crowd of half-breeds and traders in buckskin, playing billiards. After a few days I went over to Dr. Schultz's and stayed with him, greatly to my own comfort and convenience."

I may here remark, parenthetically, that, before the formation of the village of Winnipeg, the term "Fort Garry" was often applied to the district about the Company's establishment, to which alone of course the name is strictly applicable. The practice was necessitated from the fact that a considerable tract of country about the Fort offered no other tangible point to serve the various purposes of addresses on letters or goods. In its wide sense indicating the village of Winnipeg; when spoken of at a distance, as distinguished from its strict application to the Company's Fort, the term is used in the following extract:

"We had a pleasant stay at Fort Garry, and received all sorts of entertainment. They live like princes here. Just fancy what we had at a dinner party there. Oyster soup, white fish, roast beef, roast prairie chicken, green peas, tomatoes stewed, and stewed gooseberries, plum-pudding, blanc mange, raisins, nuts of all kinds, coffee, port and sherry, brandy punch and cigars, concluding with whist until four o'clock a.m. There is a dinner for you, in the heart of the continent, with Indian skin lodges within a stone throw. \* \* \* \* \*

"We rented a house from a half-breed, and have had it fitted up plainly but comfortably. Our living is excellent, and includes every green vegetable that is sold in tins, green pease, peaches, gooseberries, tomatoes, corn, &c., and all in perfect preservation, and a little half-breed cook, who cooked for the Mess at the Fort, and who speaks French, Cree, Sauteaux and English, cooks, washes, irons, sews, knits and runs errands, and does all well. \* \* \* The starvation here threatens five thousand of the half-breeds, but only those. The farming classes are affected very little if anything at all by it. The half-breeds are a strange class. They will do anything but farm, will drive ox-trains four hundred miles,

the country is a very fine one, and the soil is very rich. It is a country where the people are very happy and contented, and the climate is very healthy. The people are very kind and hospitable, and the country is very beautiful. The people are very good and true, and the country is very rich. The people are very kind and hospitable, and the country is very beautiful. The people are very good and true, and the country is very rich.

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Incidentally rich indeed is all this country—boundless and not beyond an description or comparison. The word "wigwam" is never heard here. In speaking of an Indian's home it is called a "Lodge." The "Lodge in some vast wilderness" that Cowper wished for can be had cheap here—dirt cheap. It is composed of skins stretched over some eight or nine poles standing on end on the ground and converging to a common centre at the top. The smoke from the fire, which is built in the centre of the Lodge, issues out of the top, and, though very comfortable with its buffalo robes and skins of all kinds, it has a very rakish and *Ojibwayish* look. I never look at one without fancying to myself that it is full of wolves inside.

"At Portage La Prairie will be the most flourishing city in this great West, for many reasons which I will defer giving until I have been there.

“ So far as I have yet seen, the country is great, inexhaustible, inconceivably rich. Farming here is a pleasure. There is no toil in it, and all who do farm are comfortable, and some wealthy. What do you think of a farmer within a bowshot of here being worth £7000 or £8000 sterling, and selling to the Hudson’s Bay Company last week £5000 worth of cattle, a man who came from Lower Canada 19 years ago not worth sixpence. The half-breeds are the only people here who are starving. They won’t farm. Hitherto it was so easy to live here that it did not matter whether they farmed or not; but the grasshopper put a stop to that last summer, and now they are on their beam-ends. As for the farmers—Scotch, English, and French—not one of them requires relief other than seed wheat which they are quite able to pay for. This is the true state of the case here, but it does not lessen the claim upon humanity. It will take £40,000 to feed the people through to next Fall, but the £40,000 will be forthcoming.

“ As for the future of the country, it is as inevitable as to-morrow’s sunrise. The climate is delightful. \* \* I never felt such fine weather in November in Canada as we have here just now, and there is an exhilaration in it quite new to me. \* \* \* \*

“ It is not difficult in this country to be taken out of the way and never be heard of afterwards, should one be careless. \* \* I enclose you a feather of the prairie chicken; also an oak leaf picked up “ In the land of the Dakotah,” 150 miles south of this. \* \* The finest hops I ever saw were growing wild at Eagle River, Dakotah Territory.”

As the “ Globes ” containing the extracts, from which the foregoing are selections, successively came to hand, they attracted a large share of public notice at Red River. The French half-breed population, at which the remarks chiefly quoted by me were levelled, were highly indignant at the terms in which they and their hunting and tripping proclivities were touched upon. “ The indignation against Mr. Mair,” wrote a French gentleman living in the heart of the excitement he described, in a note to myself, “ is going “ on furiously. It is truly ridiculous to see a sort of mad man “ giving his opinion upon the character and value of a whole people “ and country of which he knows no more than the man of the moon “ does.”



any of its predecessors, which he fully expected to see at Red River by an early mail, unless indeed another dispatch he had subsequently written, on learning the use made of his previous epistles, should have arrived in time to warn his friends against inserting it in the local prints.

For several weeks the arriving "Globes" were carefully scrutinized by an interested circle of acquaintances in hopes of seeing the poet's apprehensions justified. Their anticipations were, however, disappointed, in consequence either of the means taken by Mr. Mair to stop the publication having been successful, or of some other deterrent cause unknown.

I have made the above lengthy quotations from the letters of Mr. Mair, not because I consider them entitled to any authoritative weight, or attach much intrinsic importance to them. Men familiar with the places and people to which they refer will doubtless read them with amusement while regarding them in the light of a caricature; and to the minds of those unacquainted with prairie life they will convey an idea of the effect produced by the first view of the Plain country of British North America to an unaccustomed witness.

The impression likely to be created by the general tone of the letters is, that the prevailing destitution has been confined chiefly to the French half-breed class. The assertion that an agricultural failure chiefly pinches a people dependent on the chase, to the exclusion of the farming community, speaks for itself. Doubtless what Mr. Mair meant was, that the profits of farming at Red River are so great as to render the classes which occupy themselves in its pursuit, independent of bad years. This is an inaccuracy, as a large proportion of the population of the grain country are in destitute circumstances and in receipt of actual relief. The failure of the "Buffalo hunt" was the immediate cause of the famine among the five thousand half-breeds to whom one of the letters refers as those alone threatened with starvation. The incident of a settler having sold £5000 worth of cattle to the Hudson's Bay Company also calls for special remark. No such transaction occurred. All to whom I have spoken on the subject are at a loss to conceive who the individual is to whom the poet

has referred, as nobody in any way answering his description is known to exist in the colony. Men at Fort Garry are, therefore, of opinion that Mr. Mair's informant has been grossly deceiving him by imposing on his credulity. Individuals and corporations in England and elsewhere, who have so generously assisted the people of Red River during the winter of 1868-1869, may be assured that the representations on the faith of which their liberality was exercised, were true and untinted with exaggeration.

I am happy to be able to record that, since the arrival of the objectionable series, a long letter from the pen of Mr. Mair, has appeared in the "Globe" which, as it was expressly written for publication, forms a strong contrast to the others, and has recommended itself to a critical Prairie public as being, on the whole, a very creditable effort.

About the middle of February a disturbance occurred at Oak Point, in consequence of a report gaining credit among the settlers in that locality that Messrs. Snow and Mair were purchasing from the Indians portions of land to which the actual occupants laid a pre-emption claim. Mr. Mair was brought to Fort Garry under compulsion of an excited crowd of French half-breeds who required he should forthwith quit the country, as he was, in their opinion, a man likely to create mischief. The Governor of Rupert's Land interfered in favour of the Paymaster, who was, after some altercation, permitted to return to his work.

The misunderstanding was alleged to have risen from the following circumstances: When Messrs. Snow and Mair commenced road operations at Oak Point, in the previous November, Dr. Schultz established a store at that place under the management of a clerk named Hall. From this warehouse certain goods were advanced to the men employed on the works, on the understanding that an equivalent should be afterwards refunded from Mr. Snow's importation of pork and flour. Schultz was then said to have entered into a so-called Land purchase, to be effected by extinguishing the "Indian title," without reference to the claims of half-breed or other proprietors, the Indians being paid with the provisions due to Schultz by Mr. Snow. The neighbours, seeing the Indians receive the payment from the store connected with the Road works,

believed the transactions to be between Messrs. Snow and Mair and the Indians.

Mr. Snow is a person who, during his short residence in the colony, has secured public respect. The causes above mentioned have, however, sometimes led to scenes with which his subordinate has been connected, the occurrence of which is to be regretted. The avoidance of any course ought to be studied, calculated to produce a coldness between the population already settled at Red River, and the early advent of which appears to be considered by Canadian public men and journalists "inevitable as to-morrow's sunrise," even should the grand interests be secured which will connect all the provinces between the Atlantic and Pacific under one Commission held from the British Crown.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

**Dr. Machray's third Episcopal Visitation—Red River Wesleyan Mission—Colonial Routine—Remarks on the Hudson's Bay Company—Indian Difficulties in the Future—The French and English Races at Red River—Spheres of Colonial Industry—The "Nor' Wester"—Legislative, Judicial, and Executive Reforms—American Deserters—Watchman at Fort Garry—Mr. Sergeant Rickards of the Royal Marines; His Local Career—Studies from Nature—Men servants in Bachelors' Hall (from 1861 to 1869)—Red River Festivities—The Bachelors' Ball (1865)—Conclusion.**

I HAVE now to congratulate the reader and myself on our arrival within sight of the end. This chapter I intend to devote to a consideration of the present circumstances of the colony, the narrative of some isolated facts relating to the population, and a glance at personal life and observation.

In May, 1868, the Bishop of Rupert's Land started on his third Visitation. The limit of his journey was Moose Factory, and the route selected was that through the United States by St. Paul, Milwaukie, Sault de Ste. Marie and Michipicoton, at which latter place his canoe circuit of more than thirteen hundred miles commenced. In September the Bishop had completed his tour and reached Canada, where he took a prominent part in the events occurring at the time of the death of Dr. Fulford, the late Metropolitan.

It was with pleasure, by no means unmixed with regret, that the people of Red River heard the name of Dr. Machray mentioned at this time as one of the two most popular nominated to fill the position rendered vacant by the death of Dr. Fulford. It was thought that those gentlemen who had exerted themselves in favour of the Bishop had given evidence of sagacity most creditable to themselves in the choice they had made; but, on the other hand,



the improvements and efforts of Dr. Machray in his own Diocese had been such as recommended themselves to the judgment of all as so well devised that they had no wish whatever to part with their Bishop. Moreover, as a clergyman, his Lordship was exceedingly popular. The "Nor' Wester" said truly on this subject as follows :

"The Bishop of Montreal is Metropolitan of Canada. Should "his Lordship be elevated to that See, his advancement will afford "pleasure to his many friends in this colony, while, at the same "time, all will regret that we shall be deprived of his valuable "services and counsel among us. Bishop Machray has thousands "of sincere friends in this country."

After having passed several weeks travelling in Canada and the United States, during which he took part in the Triennial Convention of the American Church, held at New York, in 1868, and occupied himself with raising money on behalf of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, the Bishop reached Red River at the end of October, his entire tour having occupied more than five months. During the winter his Lordship has been an active member of the Co-operative Relief Committee, organized to manage the distribution of funds provided to meet the existing destitution in the colony.

The college and school of St. John's may be regarded as the most important result as yet seen of the Bishop's work, seeing that in them an agency is created for extended missionary operations in the future. Besides the Cochran and McCallum scholarships, already repeatedly referred to, an endowment of about £32 per annum has been provided for this establishment, and the large number of forty-two students were entered last term, 1869, in the Collegiate school. The tendency of the institution is steadily onward and the progress made by the pupils most satisfactory.

Beyond the pale of the English church, the only clerical business calling for special mention is the establishment of the Wesleyan mission, now in progress under the Rev. George Young.

As already mentioned, this body has for a long time maintained missions in Rupert's Land, though until the present time they have possessed none in Red River Settlement. The reason for

the delay has been, I am informed, founded on the assumption that the Church of England missions, already founded, were sufficient to meet the requirements of the place.

The inconvenience resulting from the absence of any of their own agents at a place so central as Red River has been of late much felt by their missionaries inland, and it has been determined to supply the deficiency. This resolution has been arrived at also in consequence of the existence of an apparently well-founded expectation that a considerable and early immigration to the colony of members of their church will take place from Canada. The Rev. W. Morley Punshon, has exerted himself largely in favour of Mr. Young's mission.

During the winter of 1868-69 there has been an absence of incident in the State department at Red River. Few councils of Assiniboia have been convened and the most important actions taken have been such as raising the Sheriff's salary from £60 to £100 a year, and abolishing the antiquated premium of five shillings on wolves' heads. To the astonishment of many people a commission from the Court of Common Pleas has arrived in the settlement, appointing four residents in the colony to take evidence in a case of Corbett vs. Dallas, in which the Rev. Mr. Corbett sues ex-Governor Dallas for the sum of £5000 on account of false imprisonment, the circumstances connected with which have been detailed in an earlier portion of this narrative. The commission is dated 1866 but forwarded only in 1869, and, of the four members, two have been named by each party in the suit.

Judge Black, whose name has been so prominently brought forward in this book, has resigned his position as head of the judicial department, and retires to England as soon after the session of the May Quarterly Court as he can manage to arrange his affairs. In connection with the commission above mentioned, the "Nor' Wester" recently issued a ridiculous but most improper article professing to regard Mr. Corbett still as a political martyr and coupling the names of Judge Black and Judge "Jeffrey." The tone of the remarks leads to the supposition that Lord Macaulay's hero, Jeffreys, is the person alluded to. The comparison is as ridiculous as it sounds. The name of Mr. Black's successor has not yet transpired.

The position of matters outside as regards the colony appears to point to a speedy change in the Red River Government. Messrs. Cartier and Macdougall, two Canadian commissioners, have been in England during the winter, trying to come to some arrangement such as shall end in the Hudson's Bay territory becoming part of the Dominion of Canada. On the result of their mission it is no part of my design to offer an opinion. The following facts may however be borne in mind :

For two centuries Rupert's Land has been occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, which has turned the country to the best account possible by utilizing the sole portion of its wealth which, on account of the barbarous nature of the region and its almost unparalleled completeness of isolation, could be profitably exported. This was its furs. For half a century a partially civilized community has existed under the auspices of the Company within its territories at Red River. The institutions of this colony which, gradually evolving themselves out of chaos, have been developed by the progress of events, I have endeavoured to describe in Chapters VI, VII, and VIII. The later parts of my book speak to their inapplicability to the present condition of things, when the tide of civilization is fast approaching the theatre of their action. The country, nevertheless, has been held by an English company as British Territory, while, in default of such occupancy, it would probably, if not surely, have now been in the undisputed possession of the United States of America. Under these circumstances it is obviously unbecoming in men who pride themselves on English connection and who, at this late day, find it suit their convenience to become emigrants, to declaim as British subjects, how much so ever they may do so as private adventurers, against favourable consideration being shown by an English Government to that Company which, acting under a charter from the English Crown, has held possession of a valuable country, during all the decades when its value was still a thing of the future. How great that value is we can yet imagine only from analogy. The capabilities of the land as a wheat-growing region is regarded by many persons as unsurpassed, and its extent is to be calculated by hundreds of miles. It is still, however,

inaccessible and isolated from the world. An attempt, talked of by United States officials, to settle the Southern or American portion of the Red River Valley, would lead to the rapid formation of a chain of settlements to St. Paul and the latter difficulty would be overcome.

A book named "Across the Continent," by Mr. Samuel Bowles, editor of the Springfield, Mass., "Republican," giving an account of a summer journey made in 1866, in company with Mr. Speaker, now Vice President, Colfax, from Massachusetts to San Francisco, sketches out the great mineral wealth of that portion of the Rocky Mountains intersected by the "Central Pacific Railroad." The question naturally occurs on reading the work in question: "Is this mineral wealth confined to those portions of the Rocky Mountains lying within the territories of the United States?" The Americans themselves speak of the British possessions as if regarding them of at least equal value with their own, and some Englishmen are sufficiently unpatriotic almost to desire that "the manifest destiny" of Rupert's Land really were Annexation to the United States. Personally I hope this course may never be adopted and would willingly believe with those who see in "the Fertile Belt," a grain-growing country for the support of crowds of men and a site for through communication which ought ultimately to combine all the British provinces under one vast Dominion extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. The difficulties in the way of this consummation are, however, enormous, and such as only capital and a strong Government can successfully overcome. Isolated efforts, made at the instigation of designing men and scatter-brained newspaper correspondents, unless supported by rare discrimination and practical talent on the part of the experimenters, are liable to ruinous and deplorable miscarriages.

Little, and that only casually, has been said by me regarding people outside the Red River Settlement. In various parts of the Saskatchewan small communities have been formed of late years, chiefly by miners whose search after gold has not yet succeeded in discovering deposits sufficiently rich to attract people in any considerable numbers in face of the scarcity and consequent

high price of food, and serious danger from Indians. With those of the latter who inhabit the Saskatchewan Valley it is no easy matter, even for men whose sole object is their trade, to live at peace. The probability that anything short of force would induce these war-like tribes to endure a civilized settlement of their lands is very small. The expense of maintaining a force adequate to this task would be enormous.

The result of half measures, and indulgence in false security in dealing with the Indian after friendly counsels have once been abandoned, may be studied in the history of the United States, and has been slightly sketched in Chapter XVIII of this volume. While it is only proper to record that much kindly feeling exists within the savage breast, as evidenced by the almost invariable experience of the fur trader, as well as by that of the original Scotch founders of Red River Settlement, who have gratefully recorded that, during their conflict with the partially civilized agents of the North West Company, they experienced almost uniform succour and hospitality from the Indians of the Red River Valley, no traveller in the Saskatchewan country doubts the certainty of sanguinary opposition being offered by the powerful Blackfeet, and other tribes occupying that district to the systematic influx of the white population.

Indian warfare would, among civilized men, be cold-blooded butchery. Surprise is a main element in its success. The favourite period of attack is just at dawn of day, when the dwellers in the camp are buried in profoundest slumber. Hiding among the woods or "bush" about the tents, the painted, feather-decked slayers announce their presence with horrid yells, and bullets riddle the lodges while death-bearing arrows thrill home in the bodies of the defenceless victims. The civilized distinction between combatants and non-combatants is unknown. This state of matters may be exemplified by the narrative of an occurrence which took place at White Horse Plain within the settlement, in January last. Two "Chippeway" Indians from Red Lake in Minnesota entered a tent inhabited by three women and four children of both sexes, all of the Sioux tribe. The strangers were hospitably received, and the whole party went to sleep at night without suspicion of

harm. Toward morning the two guests rose, and with their *tomahawks* successively despatched the three women and two of the children, the remaining two saving themselves by flight and taking refuge among the surrounding willows, through which they wandered till daylight, when they ventured to return to their murdered relatives and desolated tent. The two Chippeways carried away the scalps of the defenceless people they had slain, and displayed the trophies to the settlers on their route, glorying in the infamy they had perpetrated.

I beg again to quote a few words from the writings of Mr. Charles Mair, descriptive of the scene which ensued after the fight mentioned in Chapter XXVII, between the Chippeways and the Sioux, close to the village of Winnipeg in 1866.

"After the scalps had been torn off, the most horrible and devilish barbarities were committed upon the bodies; and, when the ingenuity of dissection of the sterner sex had been exhausted, their squaws snatched a laurel or two, roping themselves with the entrails, and smearing their bodies with blood squeezed from the quivering flesh, which they gnawed and tore like dogs. Report says that these delirious monsters then crossed the river to St. Boniface where, after war dances and other mysteries, they squatted down to delicious preparation of Sioux viscera, which doubtless sat equally easily on the stomach and the conscience."

Though myself absent from the settlement at the time of these occurrences, I believe this description to have a tolerably broad foundation in fact.

The method of effectually dealing with men and women capable of conducting war on principles resulting in practises such as these, is one of the riddles to be solved by the directors of the new order of things to be inaugurated. Another, though vastly less serious, difficulty will lie in persuading the hunting portion of the partially civilized community to devote themselves to sedentary or agricultural labour. This is the French half-breed race so frequently mentioned by me. The staff on which they have hitherto leant has been the buffalo. His flesh has given them pemmican and meat; his robe has clothed them in default of blankets, and, when dressed, has provided skins to make their tents. His dressed

skin and sinews have afforded material for moccasins, or Indian shoes; his tongue and hump or "boss" have ever been the luxuries of the Plains, and, along with the nose of the moose deer and the tongue of the reindeer, constitute the characteristic table delicacies of Rupert's Land. Hitherto the hunters resident at Red River have been enabled through the machinery of their hunts, described in Chapter XII, to kill and reap the full benefit of the buffalo. But, in consequence of a combination of causes, the herds are moving beyond the reach of people living in the settlement. The dispersion of the coloured race in the United States before the advancing tide of whites, has forced the former to change their hunting grounds and drive the buffalo before them. For many years the number of animals slain has been needlessly large, the hunters being apparently seized with a delirium of slaughter on overtaking their enormous bands. Buffalo have frequently been killed for the sake merely of the tongue; and in the absence of facilities for utilizing the remainder of the carcass, it has been left to the wolves which always hover on the tracks of the hunters.

The English-speaking race in the settlement is quite able to hold its ground with any ordinary opponents. The peculiar circumstances of the colony have been unfavourable to the attainment of excellence in any single business or trade, and every man is more or less accustomed to practice many branches of industry. This state of things will remedy itself so soon as it becomes more profitable for each man to devote himself to one business, than to adhere to the old system.

Gardening is a branch as yet cultivated only by the wealthy. For some years past vegetable crops have been precarious and scanty, while exotics have been hitherto but little tried. Fruit trees do not exist, and imported fruit is so scarce as to be unworthy of mention. The quantity of wild berries doubtless discourages cultivation of garden fruit.

The fertility of the soil is such as to render the use of manure superfluous. It is a fact that vast quantities of the latter article are systematically flung into the river, as the easiest way of getting rid of it. The extent to which this practice is carried seriously

interferes with the purity of the waters in the lower reaches of the river.

House building is in a very primitive state. The majority of houses consist of but one or two rooms and are mere huts. Even the residences of many of the comparatively prosperous, evince a gross ignorance of the essentials of comfort on the part of their designers. Ventilation is quite neglected. The unseasoned condition of the wood when used produces vast apertures in flooring and partitions which, if they add to the coolness of the mansion in summer, render it somewhat draughty and cold in winter, when even stoves kept at a perpetual red heat, and roaring draught, are insufficient to render the inhabitants warm. Many facilities would be offered to the extension of industry were a bank of deposit in existence, but hitherto it has been very doubtful whether such an institute would be remunerative to its proprietors.

Of the attempt to support a newspaper I have given a pretty full account in this volume. The "Nor' Wester" has undoubtedly been a great experiment, and a prevailing feeling has existed that it deserves to succeed. This is quite irrespective of the so-called "political" action it has taken, which is very generally, and, if regarded in a serious light, doubtless justly, disapproved. I may quote the words of Bishop Anderson, touching this subject in an official paper called forth by one of the most painful events which occurred during his administration of the diocese :

"It is not those who talk and write most of freedom who are the truest friends of the people. I yield to no man living in real desire and effort for the good of Rupert's Land, nor will I ever acknowledge that one pulse beats more warmly than my own for the highest welfare, temporal and spiritual of every inhabitant of this wide-spread territory.

"You talk much of the Free Press. We have a one-sided press at this moment. Had we another organ, a voice would be raised on the side of order, authority, and truth, of social progress and high-minded patriotism which would soon make itself heard."

The Red River "politics" discussed in the "Nor' Wester" are of course quite undeserving of the name. Possibly a plan better calculated to elicit the true sentiments of the people than that of



an opposition newspaper, hinted at in the above quotation, would have been the establishment of a representative chamber with regular session and public debates. The members of such a body would probably have been nearly the same persons as those to whom the Company has given seats in the Council of Assiniboia; but, as the direct representatives of the people they might have authorized the imposition of more than the merely nominal taxes now levied, and an efficient force would have existed to support the judgments of courts and the authority of a Government. In such a chamber there can be little doubt that the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company to administer the Government would have been heartily maintained. The agitation against that corporation proceeds, not from natives of the colony, or men possessed of much stake in it; but from recent arrivals, and men more destitute than they could desire of a property qualification for a voice in the Government. The latter, indeed, advocate very strongly the elective change to which I allude; but many think the gratification of their demand would serve only to illustrate the fallacy of their other positions and their own local unpopularity.

The events recorded in several parts of this volume indicate the necessity of a change in the mode of legal procedure before it can be pronounced safe for a man possessed of property to plead in a Red River Court. The process, though well adapted for purposes of fair arbitration in simple cases, is liable to abuses, very much in consequence of its summary character and the absence of all preliminary arrangements and written pleadings previous to the trial in open court before an illiterate jury. That the system in operation has been wonderfully successful in fulfilling the purposes it was at first intended to serve, I believe, and may mention that, in the opinion, lately expressed to me, of one well qualified on many accounts to judge, in only two cases has justice been misled by guilty practices on the part of people concerned in cases brought before the General Quarterly Court since its formation in 1839. I regret to add that both these exceptional cases, in which regarding them in the light of after inquiry, judgment was perverted, involved large sums of money.

The grand want in the colony is that of a strong military force

to carry out the decisions of the existing authorities. That, in the absence of so essential a part of the apparatus of Government, society holds together, is extraordinary. The position of the colony renders it a place of refuge convenient for Indians at war with the United States, or deserters from the troops of that neighbouring power quartered in the border garrisons. Naturally, the authorities in the States regard with dislike a place so inconveniently well situated as to enable their ill-disposed classes to annoy them; and the presence of murderous Indians, or men such as usually form the class of "deserters," is a serious evil for the settlers. One of the most publicly scandalous events which have occurred from the presence of the latter took place early in the spring of 1868, when an American soldier who had, like the rest of his class, crossed the Line with Government property in his possession, fictitiously supposed to be retained in satisfaction of arrears of pay, was married to the daughter of a settler. The marriage ceremony was an orgie, in the progress of which a comrade of the bridegroom with his teeth tore off the cheek and the upper lip of one of the guests, a neighbouring settler, who was of course disfigured for life in consequence of the treatment. Another of the guests died from the effects of exposure when in a state of drunkenness; and, to crown the affair, the bridegroom ran off with a horse borrowed from an unsuspecting neighbour for the express purpose, leaving his wife to shift for herself a few weeks after the wedding.

Until very recently, drunkenness, stealing and breaches of the peace were very rare in Red River Settlement, where none ever thought of securing property against forcible or surreptitious abstraction with bolts or bars. Within the last decade, however, the barriers formerly erected against the manufacture and sale of spirits have been necessarily broken down, to the great increase of drunkenness. Cases of theft, larceny, or robbery occur from time to time, and breaches of the peace have been comparatively frequent.

In 1863 it was considered expedient to appoint a night watchman for the service of Fort Garry. Mr. Serjeant Riokards, number 3450 Royal Marines, was one of the band of pensioners, the

arrival of which, in 1848, under Major Caldwell has been mentioned in Chapter VII. As a literary man he has generally been allowed precedence on quarter days when his services had been called in requisition to witness the marks of such of his brethren, as were unable to sign their names to the formal papers. His pre-eminent capabilities as a penman have been, however, hopelessly thrown into the shade, by the brilliant effort of his brother Serjeant Power, late of the 2nd dragoon guards and recently arrived in the colony, whose letter to the *Times* about Red River destitution has been the precursor of others signed by much greater men.

Sergeant Rickards, since his investment with the dignity of guardian of Fort Garry against the perils of thieves and fire, has practiced the most unremitting and persevering attention to duty. This consists in "coming on watch" at nightfall and marching through the Fort with his watch dog and firelock ostensibly throughout the night. He is accused, nevertheless, of a tendency to follow the example of other people, and seek repose at regular hours when his services are unlikely to be required in letting belated passengers out and in the small side gate, the key of which it is his business to guard. Long tenure of office has enabled the gallant serjeant to cultivate such confidential relations with the general community of servants in the different houses within its walls, and to obtain such intimate knowledge of the personal habits of the population of the fort generally, as enable him to arrive at a tolerable certainty regarding the nightly demands for his services as porter, and, although a midnight applicant for admittance is occasionally kept rapping at the gate for an unconscionably long time, the delay is rarely so great as to be inexcusable under the plea of momentary absence at some remote station of his rounds, or a temporary essay at tea-boiling or tobacco-cutting on a cold night at the fire in the servants' house. But now and then the gallant sergeant has been caught napping by an active superintendent of affairs whose usual mode of intimating his knowledge of the peccadillo was the silent abstraction of the sleeper's gun.

On one occasion only did I ever myself find the watchman asleep. Arriving at the gate with an acquaintance one fine summer night, about the hour of one, we rapped vigorously and long

without effect and ultimately resolved to scale the wall. After having successfully accomplished this feat at a conveniently accessible spot, curiosity led us to enquire after the absentee. A magnificent full moon shone brightly on every platform and house but not upon the object of our search, whose regular military footfall was also unheard amid the complete stillness. Moving towards the little gate at the wrong side of which we had been so lately tapping, we at length heard a prolonged and regular series of snores issue from a porch which in summer time serves as a watch house. Inside of this structure sat the sergeant in his arm-chair, bolt upright and fast asleep, with his firelock leaning harmless against the wall by his side. We were restrained from snapping the piece close to the ear of its proprietor by the double consideration that in fact the happy thought did not occur to either of us at the moment, and even if it had, the sound of the gun echoing through the still June night would have alarmed others more than the immediate victim.

In consequence of the elementary condition of society at Red River, the price of labour is high and the article unskilled. This has been brought home to the experience of the inhabitants of "Bachelor's Hall" chiefly by the peculiarities of the men who have succeeded each other in the office of servant. As a class these people have been personally unlucky from a time beyond which the knowledge of the present generation of office gentleman extends not. It is popularly understood that the services of the most civilized available servant in the place are secured for the fulfilment of the requirements of the office and some whose tenure has been longest have been superannuated pensioners. Of the peculiarities of the successive occupants of the situation since 1861 I shall here insert a few sketches.

The first was a Norwegian whose sedulous attention to duty was, like that of many of his compatriots who have served in the country, very satisfactory. His immediate predecessor had been, I believe, a somewhat singular character who, during the great flood of 1861, had been drowned in a creek where on the falling of the waters his body was discovered standing upright among the mud. During the first winter of his term it became evident that our poor Norwegian was falling into dissipated habits. He was frequently

seen manipulating a handful of cards with an excited air which, with other indications, led to the suspicion he was betting heavily. His gymnastic exploits while "half cut" for the entertainment of by-standers were surprising and sometimes of a nature to try both the thickness of the chamber partitions and of his own skull. Towards spring matters grew worse. Among his good qualities he was an excellent barber, and boasted of having had the honour of shaving the king and royal family of Norway, whether accidentally or habitually I cannot tell. One morning, after having finished shaving a gentleman in Bachelor's Hall, who had confidence in his skill, he stood for several seconds gazing curiously at the effect of his exertions, and finally, flourishing his razor, gave utterance to the remarkable expression "hurrah! I'm finished and *you* are still alive sir!" "Hullo! what do you say!" cried his vis-à-vis rising somewhat precipitately from the extemporized barber's chair in which he was wont to surrender himself to the attentions of his valet. "I say, sir, that I never was too drunk to shave any gentleman, but this morning, sir, I *was* a little afraid of you," replied the triumphant operator manipulating his instrument knowingly the while. Previous to the unusual congratulation in which he had indulged on finishing his work, the barber had shown no perceptible symptom of his condition, unless a greater apparent manual freedom than usual could be so called; but his services were never again retained in a similar direction.

On one occasion, after indulging to an imprudent extent, he fell asleep on board the steamer "International" which set out with him for Lower Fort Garry and when he wakened he was already fifteen miles from home. Jumping overboard he swam ashore and was back in less than three hours. On Sunday, 1st June, 1862, after having drunk too freely over night he went to bathe in the river Assiniboine, and it was supposed caught cramp or became otherwise incapacitated, in consequence of some nervous disorder, from availing himself of his great skill as a swimmer. His body was drifted underneath the Portage La Loche boats, which had been launched and floated, ready to start on their long voyage, close to the scene of the accident. The obstruction caused by these vessels added to the difficulty of rendering the unfortunate man any

prompt assistance from shore and the result was he was drowned.

His successor was a Scotchman who professed to have passed some time as coachman to a well-known baronet and to have been so comfortably provided for as to rouse curiosity respecting the cause which had led him to quit so good a service for the very undesirable billet of a labourer in Hudson's Bay. He was a smart looking voluble man, with luxuriant red hair, and the harangue he uttered on the morning of his first appearance on duty induced the belief that his unfortunate predecessor was about to be eclipsed in point of efficiency. He was appointed to fulfil the additional office of Governor's coachman, and it speedily became apparent, that, as regarded his office duties he was "above his business," by which term I mean not to assert that he showed any quality befitting a more exalted vocation, but rather a lamentable remissness in actual daily duty. I fear he must be described as "a sulky dog," and, after a few months' occupancy, to the great satisfaction of all dependent on his ministrations, he quitted office duty under threats of violent handling. I am happy, however, to say that, on leaving the service some time afterwards, he married a member of the family of a Scotch settler in good circumstances, and, as a farmer on his own account, has shown a much greater capacity of benefitting himself and others than the above noted characteristics would have led one to expect.

The individual who succeeded him in the office was an Englishman who, after long service in Her Majesty's 75th regiment of Foot, had come to Red River in 1848 as an "out pensioner" of Chelsea Hospital in the corps commanded by Major Caldwell. He was an admirable groom, and the amount of care and personal attention which, when acting in this capacity, he lavished on each of his dumb friends, was highly creditable to him. He had one fault however, in being addicted to liquor, not habitually, but in periodical and violent paroxysms. On such occasions his fellow feeling for the horse forsook him, and his unhappy charges, unless handed over to other care, languished under neglect and thirst. His excesses were of two kinds. The minor outbreaks occurred frequently, and might be expected on all quarter days when he and his brother pensioners received their payments from Government

through the Hudson's Bay Company. Of such, those occurring in January and July were always the most protracted, being sustained more or less for seven or ten days, without however seriously damaging him in purse or in prospects. Again there were the major "bursts" which took place at long intervals of three or four years apart. During those the credit balance, accumulated during the preceding comparatively sober term, was entirely dissipated, and, after four or six weeks' absence from duty, the unfortunate veteran would return bankrupt, penitent, and anxious to commence another term of economical living.

In the summer of 1862 an outbreak of the latter kind occurred, which resulted in the usual withdrawal from work and the expenditure of more than thirty pounds, labouriously earned during several previous years, in a course of riotous living lasting for several weeks. After a winter spent in great misery the poor man appeared one day in the Company's office, with a deep indent, the work apparently of a sharp lethal weapon, possibly a crowbar, or a hatchet, into his bald skull. This wound he described as "a topper for luck," but, regarding its origin and history, he could give no account, except that he had wakened up in a neighbouring public house and found it there. On the expulsion of the red-headed Scotch coachman, from office duty, as it was quite out of the question to subject the horses again to the caprices of the Pensioner, the latter was installed as office servant. He remained for about two years without committing anything calling for more serious reprobation than the small periodical January and July dissipations, already described, during the greater length of time occupied by which he would be off duty, and another man appointed to act in his stead. Heavy work, such as wood chopping or wood and water hauling, he performed passably well, but, in the execution of light or skilled labour, he was outrageously remiss. Of his manners perhaps the less written the better, seeing they resembled those popularly attributed to an angry bear or a bull in a china shop. Fault-finding he did not permit, and the attempt to rectify revolting blunders was quite useless in consequence probably of invincible obtuseness of intellect. Under silent scrutiny this unhappy being nevertheless was evidently uneasy,

and he has been known to indulge in sudden eruptions of a grossly profane and scurrilous nature in manifestation of his displeasure at the liberties taken by a vigilant inspector of his operations. His absence for purposes of dissipation were alleviation in the lot of the inhabitants of Bachelor's Hall, who, during their continuance, enjoyed at least a change of servants. In summer he was also employed as gardener, and, during the said absence, his plants, withering from want of water, suffered as had his horses in their time. On his return, self-reproachful at the mischief produced by his neglect, he attempted a tardy reparation by spending all his spare time in the garden, where solemnly seated under the protecting shade of trees surrounded by green shrubs or withered vegetables, he might be seen eating his meals or chewing the cud of bitter reflection.

An event of the latter kind led to the dismissal of this crazy character in the summer of 1865, and for a few months he was replaced by a young French half-breed, who was thought likely to prove a great acquisition until his retirement in consequence of illness opened the way to the return of the dreadful and inevitable groom.

For a year longer he retained his position. During its course he availed himself of one singular opportunity of valuable well doing. In consequence of temporary circumstances he was required to sleep throughout the winter in the business part of the house known generally as "the office," which is an isolated chamber. One night he was wakened by a suffocating volume of smoke which filled the room. Without an idea what was the cause, and seeing only that the thickest clouds issued from underneath the stove, he ran out of doors and bringing in quantities of snow, packed it in the heated fender, where it quickly melted. Next morning it was obvious his timely action had saved at least the house in which he was from destruction by fire. By some means unsuspected the fire must have found its way from the stove through the tin sheeting of the fender, the wooden under part of which had been smouldering unseen probably for several days. After a surface about a foot square had been burnt through the fire had spread downwards through the flooring, and ignited



chips which had lain underneath since the house was built. The wood had actually commenced to blaze, and, had it not been checked by the melting snow pouring through the burnt aperture of the fender, a destructive conflagration must have occurred within ten minutes.

In the following July our benefactor of this evening acted in his usual style and was discarded by an unsympathetic gentleman in charge. The Governor, on his return from Council at Norway House, took compassion on him and appointed him to provide wood and water for his own house. For one year he remained with tolerable steadiness in his new situation, merely stumbling slightly from time to time, but recovering himself quickly after momentarily astonishing the more orderly portion of the establishment with blood curdling oaths and violent explosions of half intoxicated petulance. In July 1867 he commenced one of his systematic exploits on a major scale and in ten weeks or thereby spent upwards of forty pounds sterling in the usual way. The last £19 of this sum he secured after long hesitation and evasion on the part of the accountant. The day after receiving it he returned very wretched, with nothing to show for the money except a new bonnet, worth about five shillings, and a statement that he believed he had somehow been robbed by somebody unknown. It also transpired he was in debt to sundry people in the neighbouring village who had speculated on his pension and advanced him liquor and other merchandize on credit. His further service at Fort Garry was considered undesirable, and he was at last definitively dismissed, but was successful in obtaining very good employment in the neighbouring village of Winnipeg, in the capacity of groom, for which he was so well adapted.

His successor in Bachelor's Hall was another old soldier who had retired without a pension from the detachment of Artillery which arrived in 1846, under Colonel Crofton's command. He had attained a very comfortable position as a farmer in the settlement, but, in consequence of ambitious ventures and poor crops, had been led to sell his farm and work as a servant. He claimed commiseration as a man who had seen better days, and professed a peculiar aptitude for his new business in consequence

of experience in similar work gained while acting as man servant to a certain colonel, whose name has escaped me. He was undoubtedly a vast improvement on his predecessor, and the grave propriety and dignity of his manner were very imposing. But he had his peculiarities, the chief of which was his devotion to the perusal of newspapers and novels, generally of a trashy kind, in the estimate of which he considered himself a critic. He was also insuperably indolent, and contrived generally to spend a large portion of the day reading his favourite literature in the rooms it was his business to keep in order, while their respective occupants were busy elsewhere. After two years of unsatisfactory tenure he was dismissed, as too useless to render his services desirable.

After a short interim trial of a person from Orkney, who, one fine evening, on being called to account for not having made his appearance during the day, laconically replied "A've thrawed it op," he was succeeded by a pensioner from Her Majesty's 12th Regiment of Light Dragoons. This was much the most efficient occupant we had seen since the death of our poor Norwegian, and for a long series of years had been known as a man skilful in the practice of many branches of industry, among others that of the blacksmith. But his insuperable stumbling block had been a frequent over-indulgence in liquor, under the influence of which he appeared to lose moral restraint and sense of truth in speech. His long continued and repeated falls had driven to desperation on his account a series of willing patrons, and had once brought him into such a position as ended in his being confined in prison for several weeks. This occurred only a few months before the period at which he became our servant. Several years previously he had served for a considerable time in the American force raised to oppose the Sioux on the frontier. His services were so valuable, and so acceptable to the American officers, that it was much against their desire he withdrew them when the war was over, and he was informed he would be welcome should he ever desire to return. And certainly his appearance on quitting their service was soldierly, and such as testified to the regularity of the life he had led as a volunteer under the stars and stripes. The liberal gratuity and arrears of pay which he received on his retirement

were soon dissipated on his arrival among old acquaintances on British ground, and, after the sojourn in prison already indicated, he was appointed to Bachelor's Hall, with the view, probably, of undergoing a thorough reformation. After a period of sobriety, extending over about four months, he again broke out, and, to the great regret of everybody, was detached from our establishment in which he was succeeded by an elderly, sober-looking Orkneyman of twenty-five years' standing in the Company's service.

The latter had spent the long period named in York Factory and the coast district, whence he had arrived only a few weeks previous to the time to which I allude. He was known to be of weak intellect, but as his "foolishness" consisted in an overweening ambition to get married, it was thought unlikely to interfere seriously with his duties of a practical nature. At least one gentleman in charge of a district in which he had served, had offered amazing riches as a bribe to any Indian girl who would unite herself in wedlock with our new servitor, but without success. Nor was his ambition to be so easily gratified for he was fastidious in his choice, and fancied himself no mean prize in the marriage lottery. His malady varied its intensity with the phases of the moon. Of his different exploits throughout the country, which have reached my ears, I shall be silent, but even at Red River he had distinguished himself on a small scale from time to time. Serjeant Rickards while pacing his solitary rounds was at first rather startled by the sudden moonlight appearance of his eccentric comrade, dressed in hat and drawers, holding an ugly stick in his fist, noiselessly walking along a platform, and making unintelligible remarks about one "Harriet," for whose arrival at the gate he appeared earnestly to watch. Further inquiry reassured the gallant serjeant by revealing that "Harriet" was a mere creature of the brain, or "Dulcinea del Toboso" hovering in the moonlit mists of the nightwalker's mind. This poor fellow's case being one of undoubted mental alienation, I need enlarge no further on his infirmity than to say that the belief it would not interfere with his usefulness as a man-servant has been justified by experiment; and, if any praise is due to generous treatment of needy relatives in the old country, it should be his.

With reference to the social gatherings of Red River, I fear I must be brief as my space is short. They doubtless much resemble those common in rural districts in England or Scotland. Incidents of an exciting character certainly sometimes occur in consequence of excessive consumption of stimulants on the part of the gentlemen. I may, I think, without violating any law by which my selection of incidents has been regulated, here give a sketch of some circumstances which occurred at an entertainment got up by myself and a few associates, in December, 1865. In consequence of events of a private nature, I was not present at the affair referred to, but my account is compiled from evidence of undoubted authenticity.

The "bachelor's ball" was the result of the efforts of nine public-spirited individuals to provide an entertainment worthy of the occasion for as many of the élite of Red River Settlement as could be conveniently collected in pursuance of the design. So soon as the project began to get wind, the anxiety to obtain the necessary passports was, of course, great and universal. I think I merely do justice to the sentiments animating the enterprising originators of the affair, when I state their desire to satisfy the laudable and proper ambition of their friends was hearty and sincere. A vast number of notes of invitation were printed at the "Nor' Wester" office, and the first edition was actually in course of distribution, when the attention of the editor was drawn to the fact that the heading "BACHELORS' BALL" in large capital letters, appeared to contain a slight error in the matter of spelling. The point, after proper consideration, was conceded, and the defect rectified by a second edition.

A large untenanted house in the village of Winnipeg was secured for the purpose; stoves were set in order, curtains and hangings got up, and an imposing exterior created. A neighbouring gentleman evinced his approval of the enterprise by undertaking the management of all the cooking operations and rendering assistance in many important details. The evening came, the arrangements were complete, and everything declared, by competent critics, a signal success. The music, consisting entirely of violins, was commenced, and along with it the dancing. Early in the evening the

house got partially on fire, but the conflagration was checked with hot water before the alarm became general and all went on merrily till after supper.

About three o'clock in the morning a gentleman was observed lying insensible between a wall of one of the rooms and a stove in full working order about eighteen inches removed from the said wall. Our friend's back was to the stove and his face to the wall, while the odour of singeing first drew our attention to his position. He was removed from his embarrassing situation and laid in more eligible quarters.

The Pensioner groom whose tipping propensities have been already described was, at this time, attached to Bachelor's Hall. His services were, of course, in constant demand throughout the evening to harness horses and drive guests between the Fort and the ball-room at Winnipeg. At every trip he was supplied with at least one drink of a stimulative character and, towards morning, he abandoned the attempt at driving and devoted himself to the altogether more congenial employment of attacking his supper and swallowing "refreshments." At an advanced hour in the morning he was met by a patron who offered him "a drink" so rudely that the larger portion of the tumblerful of brandy and water was spilt over the whiskers and face of the recipient. Running, violently coughing, out of the house the latter attempted to rid himself of the unwelcome offering, but was prevented by the frost which froze the liquid on his beard into a mass of tangled icicles. Returning in-doors he succeeded in thawing himself over a stove, and shortly afterwards, meeting the gentleman who had used him so ill, he civilly asked him for another drink.

"Why! you are the old fellow I gave a horn to not ten minutes ago!" remarked the gentleman.

"Gave me a horn! you threw it down my throat!" replied the servitor.

"You must be a queer old chap too not to take a horn any way you get it," answered the indignant donor, who forthwith strode down stairs to enter his carriage in waiting to convey him home. He showed great anxiety to wrap the robes round a lady under his charge, which, having done, he gathered up the reins and

with solemn dignity of deportment, seated himself on a snowdrift outside the conveyance, motioning his horse to proceed. An attempt on the part of the latter to comply brought the charioteer to a sense of the incongruity of his position and the expediency of changing his quarters.

Meanwhile our man had seated himself with his back to the wall and his legs stretched along the floor of the room in which, upon a bed, lay the victim of the stove. The Coroner of the District, entering shortly afterwards, and seeing the latter, was struck with the bright idea of holding an immediate inquest. A jury was empanelled, and, after suitable investigation, a verdict was arrived at, setting forth that the patient had been "Found Dead Drunk." Cold applications were suggested and a jug full of iced water was poured down the back of the sufferer, who was forthwith dropped down beside the wondering groom. The latter had been an awe-stricken spectator of the judicial proceedings and on seeing the object of the inquest somewhat violently tumbling in his direction, shouted at the top of his lungs "Take away the blawsted dead body ; don't let the bloody corpse come to me !"

In another room dancing had come to an end in consequence of the strange conduct of two of the fiddlers, who, instead of exerting their skill in a regular way, jumped on a table and danced in unison with their own exciting strains. One of the gentlemen who had just officiated at the inquest, anxious still further to promote the common welfare, offered to extrude both of the uproarious musicians from the room in which they were disporting themselves, within five minutes by his watch. The proposal met with instant acceptance and a path opened through the surrounding crowd, along which the bold operator strode, and, in the course of a few seconds, was seen to return dragging the first of his victims after him on his hands and knees by his long artistic hair. He was deposited amid circumstances of violence on a heap of saddlery, stored in a dark chamber where he was joined within five minutes by his companion, ejected from the ball-room by a like summary process.

The ladies having all departed, the ball was wound up with a series of isolated skirmishes between some of the gentlemen who, after drinking a few more tumblers, dispersed to their respective homes as the winter morning broke.

Lord Byron in one of his works, I think, stated it as his experience that, next to that of commencing, the difficulty of closing a poem was the greatest its writer had to encounter. In the composition of the present book, since making a determined commencement about eight months ago, the difficulties which successively rose in my way have instantly disappeared, much through the facilities for gaining information being kindly supplied by friends. The great principles laid down in the preface have been kept steadily in view throughout the whole progress of the work, which I am anxious should be read with pleasure by all into whose hands it may come, and cause unnecessary pain or perplexity to none.

Previous to the present time the localities in which the action of the book takes place have had but little interest for the general public. Of late years they have begun to attract the attention of many of Her Majesty's subjects in the neighbouring Dominion of Canada, and even in England the names of Rupert's Land and Red River begin to make themselves heard on the lips of public men. Time, and the natural progress of events, will doubtless increase their importance, actual and relative, to an extent of which the means do not yet exist to form any tolerable estimate. Should this book assist in dispelling the mists which cloud the public mind regarding where and what the Red River country is, and in rousing the interest of men in its development and prosperity, the great object, of other than a private nature, to accomplish which its composition was undertaken, shall have been completed.

Meanwhile, I have but to thank each reader who may have accompanied me to this point for the attention he has devoted to the acquisition of an interest in the concerns of people so far removed from the common walks of men as are those of the Red River Valley, and hope that, in the retrospect of the long succession of events which have passed before him, he may find something, the contemplation of which will reward him for his pains.

THE END.

LETTER FROM MR. SPENCE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, OMITTED ON PAGE 431.

*La Prairie, Manitoba, Via Red River Settlement,  
February 19, 1868.*

"MY LORD,—As President elect, by the people of the newly organized Government and Council of Manitoba, in British territory, I have the dutiful honour of laying before your Lordship, for the consideration of Her Most Gracious Majesty, our beloved Queen, the circumstances attending the creation of this self-supporting petty government in this isolated portion of Her Majesty's dominions, and, as loyal British subjects, we humbly and sincerely trust that Her Most Gracious Majesty and her advisors will be pleased forthwith to give this government favorable recognition, it being simply our aim to develop our resources, improve the condition of the people, and generally advance and preserve British interests in this rising Far West.

"An humble address from the people of this settlement to Her Majesty the Queen was forwarded through the Governor General of Canada, in June last, briefly setting forth the superior attractions of this portion of the British Dominions, the growing population, and the gradual influx of emigrants, and humbly praying for recognition, law, and protection, to which no reply or acknowledgment has yet reached this people.

"Early in January last, at a public meeting of settlers, who number over four hundred, it was unanimously decided to at once proceed to the election and construction of a government— which has accordingly been carried out—a revenue imposed, public buildings commenced to carry out the laws, provision made for Indian treaties, the construction of roads, and other public works tending to promote the interests and welfare of the people, the boundaries of the jurisdiction being for the time proclaimed as follows :

"*North.*—From a point running due north from the boundary line of Assiniboia till it strikes Lake Manitoba, thence, from the point struck, a straight line across the said lake to Manitoba Port ; thence by longitudinal line 51 till it intersects line of latitude 100.

"*West.*—By line of latitude 100 to the boundary line of the United States and British America.

"*East.*—The boundary line of the jurisdiction of the Council of Assiniboia.

"*South.*—The boundary line between British North America and the United States.

"I have the honor to remain, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's obedient servant,

"T. SPENCE, Pres. of the Council.

"To the Secretary of State for Colonial affairs, London, England."



# APPENDICES.

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## APPENDIX A.

BEFORE producing the Poem of M. Pierre Falcon, I feel it to be but fair to detain the reader with a few prefatory notes and explanations.

In the year 1815, — Semple, Esquire, had been appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company, Governor of their posts and territories in Rupert's Land, and in the autumn of that year had come to York Factory and entered on the duties of his high and difficult office. His personal qualities are reported to have been such as to qualify him well for the task he had undertaken. He was a man with a high sense of honour, endowed with a character gentle, just and firm. Previous to his appointment as Governor of Rupert's Land, he had been distinguished as a writer, and his book on the subject, I believe, of Travels in Spain, has been represented to me as having acquired a fair share of popularity.

After visiting several posts in the course of a tour through a portion of territory under his charge, the Governor reached Red River in Spring 1816, and took up his quarters in the Hudson's Bay Company's post of Fort Douglas, situated at a spot about one mile north from the site of the present Fort Garry. In the course of the spring reports were made to the Governor, by Indians and Canadian runners arriving from the West, that the great opponent of the Hudson's Bay Company, called the "North West Company of Montreal," were assembling a formidable number of half-breed partizans at their post of Qu'Appelle in the Plain Country about three hundred miles west from Red River, with the object of making a hostile descent on the infant colony.

The fact that the settlement had been entirely destroyed the previous year by the agents of the North West Company, who were confessedly much annoyed at the perseverance of the colonists in returning, after their expulsion, to the scene of their sufferings, and altogether opposed to Lord Selkirk's project of colonization, prepared the settlers and the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company to expect a determined attack in the spring, as the next probable step in the progress of what had for a long time been an irregular series of skirmishes, in the course of which Forts and other property had been seized by way of reprisal for previous acts of violence by either party with varying success.

On the 19th June, 1816, about five o'clock in the afternoon, the sentinel posted in such a position in Fort Douglas as commanded a wide view of



The loss of the North West party numbering sixty-fivemen, consisted of one man killed and one wounded. The seven survivors of the Hudson's Bay party are supposed to have owed their lives very much to the efforts put forth by Mr. Cuthbert Grant, a clerk in the North West service, the leader of their party, who with difficulty restrained his disorderly and excited followers from murdering all the colonists.

Mr. Bourke who had been sent back to bring up the cannon, probably owed his life to his mission. Governor McDonell would permit only one man to return with him, and the twain quitted the Fort for the battle ground, dragging the gun mounted on its carriage behind them. They had proceeded about half a mile when they saw the guns flashing round the Governor's party, and fearing lest they and their burden might be intercepted by the enemy, judged it prudent to retrace their steps. On their retreat they met a party of ten men coming from the Fort, with whom Bourke, after sending back his man alone to Fort Douglas with the cannon, pushed on towards the spot where the butchery was in progress. While yet far from it they encountered the enemy in isolated detachments scouring the country, and were obliged to retreat at utmost speed towards the Fort under hot and galling pursuit.

The party under Governor Semple were provided with guns, but they were in an unserviceable state, some being destitute of locks and all more or less useless. This fact was of course unknown to their opponents, who were apparently sincere in the belief that the Governor was prepared to offer serious resistance to them before the carnage commenced, after which their entire want of order and discipline rendered them incapable of reason or consideration. The infatuation which led the Governor's party to attempt by a vain exhibition of useless weapons, to intimidate nearly three times their number of men to whom the saddle and the gun were instruments of their daily occupation, is almost incomprehensible. All the victims of the tragedy claim our commiseration, but most of all, I think, compassion is called forth by the untimely fate of that high minded gentleman who led the party, whose valuable life was doomed to so sudden, so revolting and so unprofitable an end.

After the skirmish, which is known as that of "Seven Oaks," the Indians about Fort Douglas assisted in burying the dead, with manifestations of goodwill and sincere sorrow for their fate. Some of the bodies were, however, not recovered, being devoured by wild beasts. The Fort fell into the hands of the victorious party the day after the battle.

The North West party repudiated the charge of having forced a quarrel on the colonists. Their presence was accounted for in the following way. At their posts in the Plain country it was their business then, as it is now that of the Hudson's Bay Company's people, to provide pemmican for the use of establishments situated in regions where provisions are not to be had. The latter lay in those districts watered by streams flowing into Lake Winnipeg, chiefly on its eastern shore. The provisions collected during the preceding season in the west were transported overland to a spot on the

Red River called the Frog Plain, where they were shipped on board canoes or rafts, and forwarded thence by water carriage to their appointed destination. Frog Plain is close to the scene of the battle, and it was alleged that the party under Mr. Grant were merely journeying thither in the general interests of their business.

Part of the provisions they were transporting had also become theirs by right of conquest from the Hudson's Bay people, a party of whom had been waylaid, conquered and pillaged while travelling to the colony with the aid of their allies, who were much needed in consequence of the scarcity of the season. It was alleged that Mr. Semple had gone out to repossess himself by force of these provisions to which the actual holders were determined to support their claim by arms.

I may now present the Poem of Pierre Falcon, magistrate of Assinibois, and an old and highly respectable member of the French half-breed population. It was composed, I believe, the very day of the battle of Seven Oaks, and gives, I have no doubt a truthful description of the light in which the author, along with doubtless the majority of his comrades, regarded the appearance and intentions of Governor Semple and his followers. M. Falcon neither reads nor writes. The song was taken down from his own lips for the purpose of the present publication, and so far as I know, notwithstanding its wide oral circulation, has never hitherto appeared in print.

#### CHANSON ÉCRITE PAR PIERRE FALCON.

*Vouslez-vous écouter chanter une chanson de vérité?  
Le dix-neuf de juin les "Bois-brûlés" (half-breeds) sont arrivés  
Comme des braves guerriers.  
En arrivant à la Grenouillère (Frog Plain)  
Nous avons fait trois prisonniers  
Des Oronais! Ils sont ici pour piller notre pays.*

*Étant sur le point de débarquer  
Deux de nos gens se sont écriés  
Voilà l'anglais qui vient nous attaquer!  
Tous aussitôt nous nous sommes devirés  
Pour aller les rencontrer.*

*J'avons corné la bande de Grenadiers,  
Ils sont immobiles! Ils sont démontés!  
J'avons agi comme des gens d'honneur  
Nous envoyâmes un ambassadeur.  
Gouverneur! voulez-vous arrêter un p'tit moment?  
Nous voulons vous parler.*

*Le gouverneur qui est enragé,  
Il dit à ses soldats—Tirez!  
Le premier coup l'Anglais le tire,  
L'ambassadeur a presque manqué d'être tué.  
Le gouverneur se croyant l'Empereur  
Il agit avec rigueur.  
Le gouverneur se croyant l'Empereur  
A son malheur agit avec trop de rigueur.*

Ayant vu passer les Bois-brûlés  
 Il a parti pour nous épouvanter.  
 Etant parti pour nous épouvanter,  
 Il s'est trompé; il s'est bien fait tué,  
 Quantité de ses grenadiers.  
 J'avons tué presque toute son armée.  
 De la bande quatre ou cinq se sont sauvés.  
 Si vous aviez vu les Anglais  
 Et tous les Bois-brûlés après!  
 De butte en butte les Anglais culbutaient.  
 Les Bois-brûlés jetaient des cris de joie!  
 Qui en a composé la chanson?  
 C'est Pierre Faicon! Le bon garçon!  
 Elle a été faite et composée  
 Sur la Victoire que nous avons gagné!  
 Elle a été faite et composée  
 Chantons la gloire de tous ces Bois-brûlés!

The skirmish to which these lines refer made much noise in the outside world, and the French writer, Chateaubriand, who was travelling in Canada about the time of the public excitement connected with it, mentions, I am told, in one of his works, the curious co-incidence created by such an action having taken place between French and English forces, in which the former were victorious, a year and a day after the battle of Waterloo! Truly there is but a step between the sublime and the ridiculous.

The following are the comments on the fight made by Mr. Alexander Ross, a Sheriff of Assiniboia, in his work on "Red River Settlement." The particulars relative to the fate of the twenty-six members of the North West party are, I understand, accepted as authentic in the country. I give them a place here because I consider them amusingly horrible. Men who incline to the opinion that the individuals referred to might have met their death by some happier means had they not assisted in the massacre will probably read them with edifying awe.

"As might be expected, writes Mr. Ross, the advocates of either party in this catastrophe strenuously denied having fired the first shot, and perhaps it will ever remain in some minds a matter of uncertainty. In the country where the murder took place, there never has been a shadow of doubt, but rather a full and clear knowledge of the fact, that the North West party did unquestionably fire the first shot, and almost all the shots that were fired. The opinion of the writer is most decided that the guilt of this bloodshed rests on the North West party, and the following list of casualties may suggest to some how dearly it was visited upon them in the course of a few years. It exhibits the violent or sudden death of no less than twenty-six out of the sixty-five who composed the party."

"1. The first person in our melancholy catalogue was a man named Dechamp, who, in crossing the river, near to his own house at Pembina, suddenly dropped down dead on the ice; the dog he had along with him shared the same fate, at the same instant, without any previous illness or warning of his end."

" 2. François Dechamp, son of the above Dechamp, was stabbed to death by his own comrade, his wife shot, and his children burnt to death, all at the same time, near Fort Union, Missouri River."

" 3. La Grosse Tête, brother to François Dechamp, was shot by an Indian between the pickets of the trading posts, on the Missouri. These three individuals belonged to the same family."

" 4. Coutonahais suddenly dropped down dead while dancing with a party of his comrades at the Grand Forks, beyond Pembina."

" 5. Battosh, shot dead by an unknown hand in Red River Colony."

" 6. Lavigne, drowned in crossing Red River, near Nettley Creek."

" 7. Fraser, run through the body at Paris by a French officer, and killed."

" 8. Baptiste Morrallé, in a drunken squabble on the Missouri, thrown into the fire and burnt to death by his drunken companions."

" 9. La Cer.e died drunk on the highroad on the Missouri River."

" 10. Joseph Truttier, wounded by a gun, and disabled for life, in Red River."

" 11. J. Baptiste Latour, died a miserable death by infection."

" 12. Duplicis was killed by a wooden fork running through his body, in the act of jumping from a hay stack at Carlton, on the Saskatchewan River."

" 13. J. Baptiste Parisien, shot dead by an unknown hand, while in the act of running buffalo in the Pembina Plains."

" 14. Toussaint Vondré, lost an arm by accident, and disabled for life, in Red River."

" 15. François Gardupie, the brave, shot and scalped in a sudden rencontre with the Sioux Indians, on the banks of the Missouri, in sight of his comrades."

" 16. Bourassin, killed on the Saskatchewan, particulars not known."

" 17. Louison Vallée, put to death by a party of Sioux Indians, in the Pembina Plains, and in sight of his companions."

" 18. Ignace McKay, found dead on the public road, White Horse Plains, Red River."

" 19. Michel Martin, died a miserable death at Montreal, Lower Canada."

" 20. Thomas McKay, died of intemperance, Columbia River."

" 21. Ka-tee-tea-goose, an Indian, said to be the person who fired the first shot. This savage, on returning to his family after the massacre, was met by a war party of the Gros Ventres, or Big Belly Tribe, near Brandon House, who, after shooting and scalping him, cut his body to pieces, carried off his fingers and toes, and strewed the rest of his remains to the wild beasts, to mark the place where he fell."

" 22. Cha-ne-cas-tan, another Indian, drowned in a small pool of water, scarcely two feet deep, near the Little Missouri River, Brandon House."

" 23. Oké ma-tan, an Indian, frozen to death on the Pembina Plains."

" 24. Ne-de-goose-ojeb-wan, gored to death by a buffalo bull, while in the act of hunting."

" 25. Pe-me-can-toss, shot and thrown into a hole by his own people."

"26. Wa-ge-tan-ne, an Indian, his wife and two children, killed by lightning on a hunting excursion."

"Of this unfortunate number, two were Canadians, two English, two Scotch, and fourteen French half-breeds; four Saulteaux and two Cree Indians."

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### APPENDIX B.

It has ever been the custom for the officer in charge of each Post in Rupert's Land to keep a journal of current events occurring within his jurisdiction. Such a record frequently consists of trite remarks on the Wind, Weather, and Fort routine. Occasionally, nevertheless, incidents occur to vary the usual sameness of life in the interior. Such were frequent before the coalition between the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies, *i.e.* in 1821. The following is an extract from a very old journal kept at Isle à la Crosse, by Mr. Chief Factor Clarke, who seems from the wording to have dictated to an amanuensis. The fragment from which I have copied it was picked up from a heap of rubbish at Norway House in summer 1868. How it got there nobody could explain. I think the reader will regard it as amusing; the hope that such will be the case is my apology for inserting it.

"Wednesday, 6th October, 1819.—Wind N.W. Weather very cold. Messrs. Bethune and McMurray and two clerks arrived at the camp about 2 o'clock a.m., in two large canoes. Some time after their arrival, I sent Messrs. McLeod and McKenzie with my compliments to Mr. Bethune, requesting he would order the things which Fraser had detained from the Indians, else he should find it would turn out more serious. But Mr. McLeod no sooner called on Mr. Bethune than Fraser came in a rage and abused him, menacing his fists, saying that he had taken advantage of him by taking the tent away.

"Mr. McLeod politely told him that he was not a blackguard to fight with fists, but that if he had any inclination to show his bravery he was ready at a call and would walk forward before him into the bushes for that purpose, Mr. McMurray in the interval going for a brace of pistols. The North West gentlemen requested me (particularly Mr. McMurray who said: "Beware of *bloodshed*") to arrest such proceedings. From Fraser's manoeuvres, who was going crying and weeping through the camp, and seeing Messrs. McMurray and Bethune detaining him from following our gentleman, I knew there would be nothing serious which induced me to allow Mr. McLeod to persist. After waiting on the ground for about twenty minutes, Mr. McKenzie, who was Mr. McLeod's second, came to the camp and told Fraser, "We are waiting for you some time back," and returned immediately to Mr. McLeod, and after waiting fifteen minutes more and finding Fraser did not go, they both came back through the North West camp.

"From these proceedings the Indians were assured of our superiority, at which they feel happy in being freed from the subjection of the North West

Company who completely enslaved them by terrors and threats. At the commencement of the affair, both Bethune and McMurray attacked me, when I observed to McMurray that one of them should finish before the other began—that one was enough at a time. Previous to this affair, I apparently spoke to the most forward of the North West men, who were three more in number than us, not to interfere with any disturbance that might take place, and that my men would likewise keep quiet—that the gentlemen of both parties might decide any dispute that might take place.

Mr. Bethune said the Indian should have all his things, and everything ended quietly for the day. Our men during our campaign here appeared ready and willing to follow and assist me at a call.

(Here follow many days' entries, giving details of watching and outwitting the opposition traders and their Indians.)

Monday, 25th October, 1819.—Two of the North West gentlemen, say Bethune and McLeod came and demanded one of their servants of the name of Proux, lately arrived with our people from Athabasca. I told Bethune I should not prevent the man from going with him, but that I would prevent his being taken away by force. I, at the same time, observed to Bethune that the North West had taken two of the Hudson's Bay Company's servants from Cumberland House last summer.

Monday, 15th November, 1819.—Messrs. Angus Bethune and Paul Fraser of the North West Company came where our men were working at the Ditch. Fraser laid hold of Proux from behind and Bethune immediately came to his assistance and both of them were dragging Proux along, when they were perceived by Patrick Cunningham who ran to Proux's assistance and took him from Bethune and Fraser. Proux finding support wished to fight with the North West gentry, but Cunningham prevented him.

Wednesday, 7th December, 1819.—I had some conversation with the North West bully this morning. I told him if he would abuse any of my men this year or give any insult, if I had no person that could beat him, that I would beat him myself. The North West blacksmith repairing axes for us.

N. B.—The latter appears to have been one of a series of secret transactions for the mutual benefit of the gentleman from whose Journal I quote, and the artificer to whom he alludes.

Saturday, 1st January, 1820.—Fine clear weather. All the men of our Fort went this morning to the North West Fort, and saluted the Master there with three volleys; but, instead of calling them in as usual to get a dram, the gates were shut, and no admittance. Bethune said that he suspected they came to take the house. Gave a booze and dance to men as customary on this day: they are staunch and unanimous.

Sunday, 2nd January, 1820.—Wind north. Weather very cold. The men still drinking and boozing rum. Several of the North West servants came to our house to-day, among whom was their bully (Desjarlais). Patrick Cunningham and a few others of our men went and met him and asked if he came to fight any person in our Fort, if so, to try one of us



immediately. Said no—that he had nothing against any person. Two more of the North West culprits were with him, but as I walked towards them they moved with precipitation towards their Fort. Allan Ross, our tailor, went to-day to the North West fort without my permission, which being found out, I called him to task and gave him a dressing.

Tuesday, 22nd February, 1820.—Mr. John Macdonald and Paul Dazé arrived from Green Lake, also Benjamin Bruce and Joboin brought information of Mr. MacKenzie being coming in company with two naval officers, who are sent by Government to expose a "North West Passage." Hearing by these that Mr. MacFarlane will not be able to supply their dogs with provisions, I sent off Bonperland and Villebrun to meet them with two sledge loads of fish.

Wednesday, 23rd February, 1820.—Wind south-east. Weather cloudy and blowing hard. At 6 p. m. arrived Mr. MacKenzie from Cumberland House accompanied by Lieutenant Franklin and Mr. Back, both of the Royal Navy.

Thursday, 24th February, 1820.—The naval gentlemen who arrived yesterday paid a visit at the North West Fort to-day.

Friday, 25th February, 1820.—Messrs. Franklin and Back received an invitation from Mr. Bethune of the North West, to go and dine with him.

Monday, 28th February, 1820.—Messrs. Franklin and Back took an *observation* to-day and find the Latitude and Longitude of that place to be as follows, viz:

Latitude 55° 25' 33" North.

Longitude 107° 47' West.

Variation 22° 12' East.

Sunday, 5th March, 1820.—Wind north-west. Cold clear weather. At 10 a. m., left Isle à la Crosse in company with Messrs. Franklin and Back, who are on their route to Athabasca. We encamped in Deep Reep River. Two of our men, say Charbonneau and Thomas McDermott, are going with the baggage and two of the North West men.

Monday, 6th March, 1820.—Wind west and cold weather. Proceeded and encamped at Buffalo Lake.

Tuesday, 7th March, 1820.—Wind south-east. Fine clear weather. Proceeded and arrived at Buffalo House at about breakfast time. These gentlemen went to the North West House at this place, where they intend to take up their quarters during their stay here. They this afternoon paid a visit at our House.

Friday, 10th March, 1820.—Left Buffalo House for Lac La Loche in company with Messrs. Franklin and Back. Two of our men and two of the North West men attending them and hauling their baggage. Encamped in River La Loche.

Saturday, 11th March, 1820.—Proceeded and arrived at Lac La Loche House.

Monday, 13th March, 1820.—After having a parley with the Indians hereabouts, and got three or four of them to join us, and parted with these gentlemen, I return for Isle à la Crosse.

Tuesday, 28th March, 1820.—The North West blacksmith came and offered to engage and join me immediately. I told him I would engage him; but this I do not do entirely for his utility at this place at present, but partly to disappoint the North West getting any work done for their Indians.

Tuesday, 11th April, 1820.—To-day Messrs. Bethune and Fraser, of the North West Company, came to our Fort and demanded their blacksmith and asked me if I intend to protect him. I told Bethune that he came of his own accord to me and engaged in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and before he signed his engagement he told me that his time with the North West Company expired last New Year's day; but if he (Mr. Bethune,) could produce documents to prove that his time with the North West was not yet expired, he should have him with him. This he did not produce, and consequently I kept the man.

Thursday, 13th April, 1820.—Wind and weather as yesterday. The North West fishermen caught only two white fish to-day.

Saturday, 15th April, 1820.—The Indians who arrived here yesterday asked leave of me to go and see the North West Trader. I permitted them to go. After being away about three hours they returned much intoxicated. One of them offered to fight with me, saying that Bethune, the North West trader told them that the Hudson's Bay Company's servants were the cause of so many of their friends dying, which incensed the Indian so much that he did not care what he might do (particularly as he was in liquor). Seeing these were too drunk, I did not, for the present, pay any attention to what they said.

Sunday, 16th April, 1820.—This day the Indians being sober, I asked them if it was true that Mr. Bethune told them yesterday that it was us who brought the sickness among them. They replied "he actually said so," which induced me to send Mr. Manson with my compliments to Mr. Bethune, wishing him to meet me between both the Houses to investigate his motives for telling such a falsehood to the Indians. Mr. Manson soon returned without any satisfactory answer. I immediately sent Messrs. Mackenzie and Pensonant, Pisk Keplingan (interpreter), and the two Indians, to whom Bethune told the story yesterday, to enquire into the truth of the matter. At first Bethune denied having said such things to the Indians. They told him he did tell them so. At last, seeing he could not clear himself, he said it was the Colonists that brought the sickness. This likewise was contradicted by Mr. Mackenzie and the others with him. The result was that the Indian told him he was a liar and a story teller, so they left him and returned. This affair did more good than harm; it showed the Indians our superiority in point of truth and resolution to the North West.

Monday, 24th April, 1820.—Wind north-east. Weather cloudy and cold. Sent off Mr. Mackenzie, Bissonette, Ranhe, Villebrun and Thomas McDermot to Buffalo Lake, to apprehend Mr. McMurray if possible.

Tuesday, 25th April, 1820.—Sent Mr. Manson, Donald McDonald and Dunnet to intercept any of the North West men bringing intelligence of what might take place at Buffalo Lake.

Three men employed arranging a place to put Mr. McMurray into.

Thursday, 27th April, 1820.—Arrived about 10 a.m. Mr. MacKenzie with the prisoner McMurray accompanied by Mr. McLeod and four others from Buffalo House. Mr. McMurray asked me if I would allow him to correspond with Mr. Bethune. I told him I would, providing it would be left open for my inspection.

Friday, 12th May, 1820.—

*A DREAM BY MR. THOMAS McMURRAY,*

Who is now lodged in this Fort.

Last night Mr. McMurray dreamed that an old friend of his who is now 17 years dead, came and delivered him a letter in which he saw in print marked in large capital gold letters,

“MR. CLARKE BEWARE OF THE 27TH OF AUGUST.”

Thursday, 18th May, 1820.—The “Old Crow” had a quarrel with Bethune last night, and told him that he was determined to kill one man of each Fort.

Friday, 19th May, 1820.—I this morning received a most scurrilous note from Bethune of the North West, in which he calls me a murderer, and compares me to the rattlesnake, for no other cause than that of finding one of his horses wounded, of which circumstance I am as innocent as a man that is at present across the Atlantic. On receipt of the above note, I sent Mr. Penonant with my compliments to Mr. Bethune, requesting to have an interview with him. He refused to come out. I then, in presence of the rest of the gentlemen of our Fort, went before their gates and told his men to go and tell their master if he was a man to come and explain his motives for insulting me in the manner he did. I stood there for some time, but Bethune would not come out.

Saturday, 20th May, 1820.—Finding Bethune not giving me any answer I this morning sent McLeod with a challenge to him to come forward and meet me as a gentleman, or that I would give him a public horsewhipping on the first occasion, if he would not make a public apology before the men of both Forts. Mr. McLeod returned without any satisfactory answer.

At this point the fragment picked up at Norway House suddenly ends about the middle of a page without containing any specific reason for so abrupt a termination. A man who indulges in violent demonstrations of anger against a gentleman in charge of a Post before the gates and in presence of the servants of the person he attacks, is certainly running a serious risk. Not knowing who the author of the document above quoted might be, I was at first under the impression that his lack of discretion had brought him and his manuscript to a common end. The generation of which he was a member had almost passed away, but fortunately Mr. W. Robert Smith, the veteran Clerk of Court, was able to inform me that the post to which the fragment referred was obviously that of Isle à la Crosse, and its author Mr. John Clarke, who after the coalition of 1821, became a Chief Factor in the service of the new Hudson's Bay Company and subsequently quitted the country

... of a large sum of money, which is spent in Canada, and ultimately sent to America.

... would be highly injurious to the memory of the gentlemen whose names appear on the pages of this volume. The reader may be assured that the account ought to be corrected with much caution, as it is the object that the facts and wandering tales of which ought to have a regular and steady supply. Some of the names are familiar to us as some of our most respected in their time, and their actions in the various travels might have been in circumstances which appear in the pages of this volume.

... of the various attempts at translations to write for him. Their joint production is a very interesting and useful work, and of which I have corrected. Mr. ... is a very interesting account of the history of the date referred to, and of the various attempts at translations. The allusion to "Lieut. ... and the Deck" of the Royal Navy, are surely interesting.

### APPENDIX C.

The following quotations from the book of Bishop Taché, whence my materials for Chapter X have been gathered, may be read with interest. It is written in French, under the name of "Vingt Années de Missions dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique." The language in which it is written is so generally understood in England that I think it unnecessary either to risk doing injury to the Bishop's words and style, or to increase with slight reason the already excessive size of the present volume by adding a translation.

My first extract recounts an adventure of winter travel in the experiences of Vicaire Julien Grandin, Bishop of Satala, *in partibus infidelium*, Bishop Taché, *contemporain*, which occurred in December, 1863, at Great Slave Lake.

Un événement qui, sans une intervention spéciale de la Providence, serait devenu une funeste tragédie, marqua le mois de décembre. Mgr. Grandin, toujours animé d'une charité si ardente pour ses frères, voulut aller visiter ceux du grand lac des Esclaves. Malgré la rigueur de la saison, il se mit en route avec quelques jeunes officiers de l'Honorable Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson qui prenaient à sa Mission. Arrivé déjà presque au terme du voyage, on se flattait d'avoir évité les dangers et les misères extrêmes qui s'attachent si souvent à ces courses aventureuses, lorsque tout à coup les voyageurs furent assaillis par une tempête furieuse, une tempête telle que notre aiglon neule eut en causer. La neige soulevée en tourbillons épais, déroba bientôt la vue du ciel et du rivage que l'on côtoyait à distance. Cette neige balayée de dessus le lac, n'y laissait qu'une glace vive et dure, sur laquelle les pieds des voyageurs et de leurs chiens ne laissaient aucune empreinte. Mgr. de Satala, avec des jambes et des chiens moins agiles que ceux de ses compagnons, resta en arrière, suivi seulement d'un tout jeune homme envoyé à son service; déjà les autres voyageurs avaient disparu. Un sauvage qui les guidait, poussé par l'instinct du danger qu'ont tous les enfants des bois, parla d'attendre Monseigneur. Ses maîtres, saisis par le

roid, et ne croyant nullement au danger, lui commandèrent d'aller en avant.

C'en fut fait ; Monseigneur ne voyant ni compagnon, ni terre, et rien au monde, si ce n'est la glace qu'il foulait aux pieds et la neige qui l'aveuglait, se trouva perdu sur cette mer solide. Sa Grandeur erra à l'aventure jusqu'à ce que ses forces fussent épuisées. Trop fatigué pour espérer réchauffer ses membres, que le froid saisissait déjà, Monseigneur confessa son petit compagnon, implora pour lui-même la miséricorde de Dieu, et se résigna à la mort qui lui semblait inévitable. Le reste de chaleur fut dépensé à détacher la couverture liée sur le petit traîneau ; celui-ci renversé formait le seul abri contre le vent. Monseigneur s'appuya contre cette faible protection, puis s'enroula de son mieux dans ses couvertures avec son petit compagnon qui pleurait et ses chiens qui hurlaient de froid. Il attendit là la fin de ses jours, ou le miracle qui devait les prolonger.

Dieu nous épargna la douleur que nous eût causée la perte de notre si digne et si aimé coadjuteur. Les froides horreurs de cette affreuse position se prolongèrent pendant les longues heures de la nuit ; mais Dieu avait conservé les siens, et quand l'aurore commença à poindre, Mgr. de Satala reconnut sa position. Il n'était qu'à une petite distance de la Mission, où l'on souffrait tant de le savoir en danger sans pouvoir lui porter secours. L'espoir du salut surexcita le courage de Monseigneur et de son jeune compagnon ; ils déployèrent le peu de forces qui leur restaient, et se remirent en route. A peine avaient-ils marché quelques instants qu'ils rencontrèrent les employés de la Mission, qui étaient envoyés à leur recherche. Ces derniers avaient appris, le soir, que Monseigneur, n'étant pas arrivé au Fort avec les autres voyageurs, devait s'être égaré. Ils comprirent toute l'imminence du danger et attendaient avec la plus vive anxiété les premières lueurs du crépuscule pour commencer une recherche qui eût été pour eux un danger inutile au milieu de l'obscurité d'une nuit de *poudrerie*. Les pieds de Sa Grandeur commençaient à se geler, les efforts d'une marche pénible y ramenèrent la chaleur, et, sans autre conséquence désastreuse que de cruelles angoisses, Mgr. Grandin entra dans la chapelle de la Mission. Il s'agenouilla au pied de l'autel où le Père Petitot offrait pour lui le saint sacrifice, ne sachant pas s'il devait prier pour le repos de son âme ou pour la conservation de sa vie mortelle.

The following missionary episode in the adventures of the hero of the above extract is suggestive, and appears to argue a want of tenacity on the part of the Indians to any preconceived strong religious or superstitious convictions of their own.

Il ne faut certes pas beaucoup de science pour nier ce que Dieu affirme, ou pour nier ce qu'il condamne. Un peu d'orgueil suffit pour conduire à ce profond abîme. Donc, un beau matin, un jeune sauvage de l'Île à la Croix se trouva sous la pression d'une forte inspiration. Dès lors il n'était plus un homme comme un autre ; dès qu'il n'était plus un homme, comme le progrès ne permet pas de descendre, il devait être un Dieu. Oui, ni plus ni moins, "le Fils de Dieu" était sur la terre. Cette nouvelle déification.

de l'homme, comme toutes les autres, conduisait au rejet de la prière, de l'Évangile, en un mot, de tout ce qui peut faire souvenir de notre propre infirmité et de la grandeur du Créateur de toutes choses. Mais c'était un fou! Ou, sans doute, comme le sont tous ceux qui poussent leur pauvre raison vers des sphères où Celui qui l'a créée ne lui permet pas d'atteindre. Cependant, comme maints fous font école, il ne faut pas s'étonner que le nôtre trouvât des adeptes. On le crut sur parole, sur la parole d'un certain verbiage qu'il avait adopté, et que ni lui ni les autres ne comprenaient. Il fit des prodiges, du moins il en fit un bien étonnant pour nous qui connaissons les Montagnais: il détermina ses partisans à se défaire de tout ce qu'ils possédaient, pour être plus dignes de marcher en la compagnie du "Fils de Dieu;" on détruisit, on brûla tout ce que l'on avait, et voilà bientôt toute la nation à l'envers. Le succès enhardit; à l'enseignement, aux exhortations de la nouvelle école, succédèrent des menaces; et, comme tous les erreurs ont une source commune dans cette nouvelle philosophie, on en voyait aussi au prêtre, on le menaçait.

Le mal prenait des proportions alarmantes; un certain nombre de sauvages ne voulaient plus venir à la Mission. La surprise, la confiance, la crainte et le diable aussi y poussant, l'église allait être déserte. Ceux qui croient trop à leur propre excellence, qu'ils se disent dieux ou hommes, ne sont pas les assidus de la Maison du Seigneur. Pour les instruire, il ne faut pas les attendre au catéchisme. Le Père Grandin prit donc la détermination de se rendre auprès du "Fils de Dieu," malgré les menaces qui lui étaient faites de toutes parts. Il alla, reçut quelques bons coups de tringue et réussit, sinon à faire tomber de l'Olympe cette nouvelle divinité, du moins à déchirer le bandeau de fascination dont elle avait couvert la figure d'un si grand nombre. Le mal était étouffé dans ses sources, mais non dans ses conséquences. Par un égarement qui nous afflige autant qu'il nous étonne, ce dieu conserva ses convictions et quelques dupes. Son père, sa sœur, sa tante, quoique excellents chrétiens d'abord, proclamèrent hautement être convaincus de la divinité de cet insensé. Ils apostasièrent, et plus tard, les Missionnaires de l'Île à la Crosse eurent la douleur de les voir mourir dans leur apostasie. La mère de cet infortuné, que nous appelions d'abord "la pieuse Nannette," et l'un de ses oncles, auquel nous avions donné le surnom de "petit saint," à cause des sentiments particuliers de foi qui semblaient le caractériser, partagèrent les travers du reste de la famille.

Consolons de suite ceux qui pourraient s'intéresser à leur sort. Le "petit saint" revint à résipiscence l'automne dernier; la main du Dieu véritable s'était appesantie sur lui; le sang du vrai Fils de Dieu avait obtenu miséricorde en sa faveur. Ayant perdu sa femme, plusieurs membres de sa famille, tout ce qu'il possédait, privé surtout de la joie d'une bonne conscience, des ineffables et indicibles consolations de la religion, il arriva à la Mission pendant que nous y étions. Pauvre misérable, objet de la compassion de ses frères, qui reconnaissaient facilement le châtement de ses fautes, il se convertit et reprit place auprès de cette autel, trône d'amours du Fils de l'Éternel. La pauvre Nannette comprit, elle aussi, les épreuves

que lui ménagea la Providence ; elle reconnut son erreur, et l'hiver dernier, elle fit demander un prêtre. Mgr. Grandin, seule à l'Île à la Crose, entreprit, quoique malade, un long et pénible voyage, au milieu des rigueurs de l'hiver, pour réconcilier cette infortunée avec l'Eglise et avec Dieu. Ce dernier coup acheva de gagner le " Fils de Dieu " lui-même, qui descendit des hauteurs où l'avait placé son orgueil pour redevenir simple mortel et croire lui-même à sa folie. Au printemps dernier, ce malheureux jeune homme venait demander pardon à Mgr. Grandin des coups de bâton qu'il avait donnés au Père Grandin, et solliciter les avis dont il avait besoin pour sortir de l'état d'abjection dans lequel il était tombé, même physiquement.

C'est chose vraiment providentielle ; tous ceux qui font des fautes considérables, surtout contre la foi, sont punis sensiblement et de suite.

The opinion of a Roman Catholic bishop regarding Anglican Missions may be interesting as representing a familiar subject from an outside point of view.

Je dis le zèle, ce mot peut étonner et l'on me demandera peut-être : Mais les ministres protestants ont-ils du zèle ? Si par zèle on entend ce doux et divin flambeau qui consume tout ce qu'il y a d'humain ; ce feu sacré qui embrâse le cœur, au point que l'homme s'oublie entièrement lui-même pour se consacrer exclusivement à la recherche, à la prédication de la vérité, à la sanctification de ses semblables, je dirai sans hésitation : Non, les ministres de l'erreur n'ont point de zèle et ils ne peuvent point en avoir. Si, au contraire, pour avoir du zèle, il suffit, pour un motif ou pour un autre, de dépenser au service d'une cause quelconque une grande somme d'énergie et d'efforts, tant pour faire prévaloir cette cause que pour combattre ce qui s'y oppose, surtout ce qui s'y oppose avec la force de répulsion que la vérité a vis-à-vis de l'erreur, alors je dirai que ces messieurs ont beaucoup de zèle. Quelques-uns apportent à leur ministère une ardeur, une activité, parfois même un dévouement certainement dignes d'une meilleure fin. Plût au Ciel qu'ils n'eussent pas tant de zèle ! Que le Dieu infiniment bon les arrête, eux aussi, sur le chemin de Damas ! Que la main si douce et si forte de son infinie miséricorde fasse tomber des yeux de leurs cœurs ces écailles qui les empêchent de voir la véritable lumière qui en fasse autant de vases d'élection pour prêcher aux gentils le véritable Evangile de la grâce de Dieu.

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#### APPENDIX D.

THE explanation given in Chapter XX, regarding the documents of which the following are copies, renders it unnecessary for me to enter on any lengthy discussion respecting them in this place. The first remained, along with its accompanying packets, in the keeping of the Esquimaux of the Polar Sea for twelve years, and the second relates how it was ultimately secured by Mr. MacFarlane, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company.

**His Majesty's Secretary for the Admiralty.**

Private Seal of His Majesty, 21st August 1859.

I have the pleasure to inform you that the accompanying despatch for the purpose of the objects of the Admiralty will be forwarded with the earliest opportunity of mail for transmission, it may arrive this year. The despatch contains a great number of particulars in this respect, and several other points of great importance regarding the progress will be considered of the subject in detail.

It has been found to be necessary to expedite the service by performance of the duties of the Admiralty's Secretary with whom you are connected, having a great number of persons and intelligence expressed their desire to render every assistance in their power to the service of His Majesty's Government, and to be able to engage in facilitating the search for the missing vessel, and to be able to do so. It is impossible for me to suggest any measures which may be necessary to be carried out, whether in this, specially engaged in the service of carrying your usual communication, only permit me to say that the most expedient method may be pursued and let the Admiralty be informed by the transmission be placed at the account of the Arctic Expedition, August 1859.

I am, Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed,) **ROBT. MCCLURE,**

*Commander*

To the Officer of the Hudson's Bay Company  
at Fort Good Hope, North America.

On the outside of the enclosure containing the above letter appear the following words in Captain McClure's handwriting:

"I would thank you to give the Esquimaux who delivers this to you some present he most values.—R. McC."

Underneath this appears the inscription in Mr. MacFarlane's handwriting.

"Received at Fort Anderson, Anderson River, 5th June, 1862. R. MacFarlane."

"Give the Esquimaux who delivered the package 1 steel Trap and 2 lbs. Negrohead tobacco.—R. MacFarlane."

FORT SIMPSON, 21st August, 1862.

A. G. DALLAS, Esquire, Governor in Chief:

SIR, I beg to enclose you for transmission to the Admiralty, the long missing despatches of Commander (now Captain Sir Robert) McClure, of H. M. Discovery Ship "Investigator," entrusted by him to the Esquimaux, when off Cape Bathurst, in the month of August, 1859, for the purpose of being forwarded to England, via the Hudson's Bay Posts on the McKenzie—and which despatches were received at Fort Anderson a short time ago.

I may mention that ever since 1857, when I first descended and examined Anderson River (the Behglutessé of the maps), I have endeavoured to ascertain from the Esquimaux the fate of the despatches in question, but until now without success. This, I partly attributed to the inability of the Indians



who acted as interpreters, to explain my wishes to the Esquimaux; and indeed, it was only when on a visit to a party of these at their winter houses, last February, that I succeeded in obtaining information which has resulted in their discovery.

In explanation of the long delay which has occurred in the delivery of the despatches to us, it may be stated that, in 1850, and for two or three years subsequently, the Company maintained no direct intercourse with the tribes frequenting the estuary of the MacKenzie, and none whatever with those of the Anderson previous to 1857. In the interval the Esquimaux who received the package departed this life, and this, I believe, occasioned it to be placed with some of his effects, and the circumstance to be forgotten, until my enquiries regarding the despatches revived its memory among the deceased's relatives.

As I have spoken to the Esquimaux on the subject, and also gave one of the coast chiefs a letter to deliver to any white men they might hereafter meet, apprizing them of the situation of Fort Anderson, and of the facilities which are thereby offered of forwarding despatches to England, I have no doubt that if, any such were now given to the Esquimaux, they would at once be brought in to the Fort. I was induced to do this from having read in the papers that Captain Snow had sailed, or was going to sail, on an Arctic Searching Expedition via Behring's Straits.

The package had been cut by the Esquimaux and several of the letters opened, probably with the view of ascertaining their contents. I annex a list of the documents as received last June, all of which (except those to the Admiralty) are now forwarded to their respective addresses.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Yours very respectfully,

(Signed) R. MACFARLANE.

*LIST OF DOCUMENTS ENCLOSED.*

- 1.—An open packet addressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty, London.  
Investigator, 24th August, 1850.
- 2.—A sealed packet addressed to do do do
- 3.—A do do do do do
- 4.—A do do do do do for  
Director General, Medical Return from H. M. D. S. Investigator.
- 5.—An open letter addressed to the H. Bay Officer, Fort Good Hope.

*CONTENTS OF PACKAGE, AS RECEIVED FROM THE  
ESQUIMAUX, 5th JUNE, 1862.*

- 1.—An open packet addressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty, London.
- 2.—A sealed packet do do do do
- 3.—A do do do do do
- 4.—A do do do do do (Medical  
Report.)

To the Hon. Secy of the Prov. Govt. *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl*  
 To the Hon. Secy of the Prov. Govt. *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl*  
 To the Hon. Secy of the Prov. Govt. *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl*  
 To the Hon. Secy of the Prov. Govt. *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl*  
 To the Hon. Secy of the Prov. Govt. *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl*  
 To the Hon. Secy of the Prov. Govt. *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl*  
 To the Hon. Secy of the Prov. Govt. *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl*  
 To the Hon. Secy of the Prov. Govt. *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl*  
 To the Hon. Secy of the Prov. Govt. *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl*  
 To the Hon. Secy of the Prov. Govt. *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl*  
 To the Hon. Secy of the Prov. Govt. *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl*  
 To the Hon. Secy of the Prov. Govt. *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl* *Ed. Earl*

A list of postage To the Chief Office of Fort Good Hope: or any of  
 the following Offices:

(Signed) R. M. F.

**APPENDIX E.**

The fact that the *Corbett Case* had become the ground of an action, yet  
 undetermined, for the recovery of damages to the amount of £5,000 sterling,  
 on account of false imprisonment, brought by the Rev. Griffith Owen  
*Corbett* against the *Government* *Dallas*, before the Court of Common Pleas in  
 England, interests with additional interest, and renders me anxious to pro-  
 duce *some evidence* which I had not otherwise intended to bring forward in  
 support of what I have stated regarding this unhappy affair. The follow-  
 ing is the copy of an official manifesto issued by the Governor and Council  
 of Assiniboua, after the illegal liberation of James Stewart as set forth in  
 Chapter XX.

**NOTICE.**

At a meeting of the Governor and Council of Assiniboua, on the 28th  
 instant, the attention of the Council was directed to the recent outrages  
 that had been committed in the unlawful rescue from prison of G. O.  
 Corbett, a prisoner undergoing his sentence, and of James Stewart, a person  
 in custody on a charge of felony, and to the creditable zeal which had been  
 shown by so many of the inhabitants for the protection of lawful authority.

The Council, while viewing with feelings of deep regret and abhorrence  
 the lawless conduct of the men engaged in these rescues, for which all  
 concerned in them directly or indirectly must still be held responsible, were  
 yet highly gratified at the manner in which so many of the well-disposed  
 inhabitants had proffered their services for the forcible prevention of these  
 disgraceful proceedings, and unanimously resolved that notices should be  
 publicly posted expressing the sense entertained by the Council of the  
 laudable spirit manifested by these inhabitants in behalf of the interests of  
 public order; interests which, under the regular administration of Justice  
 as heretofore by the Magistrates and the Courts, the Council doubt not  
 will be duly preserved.

The Council further desire to make it publicly known that, while they are satisfied there were, among these loyal inhabitants, men who would have willingly defended the prison at the sacrifice of their lives, the Executive were restrained from using the force at their disposal by motives of humanity; by the desire to avoid bloodshed; by a wish to prevent deadly exasperation of feeling among the settlers; and, above all, by a consideration of the dangerous consequences to the whole community that would have arisen from the Indian tribes witnessing the spectacle of open warfare between different sections of the people.

By order,

Council Chamber, 28th April, 1863.

#### APPENDIX F.

The following figures may prove interesting to people in Canada and the Indian country. They are taken from the *Nor' Wester*, and, representing the results of observations with the odometer, may be accepted as very reliable approximations to the distances between points on the route from Fort Abercrombie to Fort Garry, viz.:

STATIONS.	MILES.
From Fort Abercrombie to	
Georgetown .....	49.00
Elm River.....	12.60
Camp Lake.....	5.83
Goose Crossing.....	7.70
First Point.....	7.85
Young Bull Creek.....	10.48
Running Creek.....	5.25
Point.....	3.75
Elm Coulée.....	2.66
English Coulée.....	7.33
Turtle River Crossing.....	11.70
Small Lake.....	3.80
Rivière Marais.....	8.20
Big Salt Crossing.....	4.06
Little Salt River.....	10.25
Grand Point.....	7.15
12 Mile Point.....	17.75
Pembina.....	11.80
Fort Garry.....	63.00
Total.....	250.66

On another series of observations the total distance between Fort Abercrombie and Fort Garry was calculated at 247 miles.

## APPENDIX G.

The following is a copy of the inclosure referred to in Chapter XXIX, being the account published in the Standard, the editor of the *Nor West*, of his separation from prison in January 1891. It will be remembered that I had been committed for an assault on the Sheriff while executing an order of the Court for the recovery of a debt.

## THE "NOR WESTER" EXTRA.

## THE RECENT PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION.

Once more the doors of the Hudson's Bay Company's prison have opened to the possession of an excited team, handled by the stout arms of men who were as zealous of the fortunes as of the favours of the august Humbag, the Hudson's Bay Company. The case occurred this wise. In one of the *Quarterly Courts* judgment was obtained against Sheriff McKenney for a sum of money. Being sheriff, he paid half, and succeeded in cajoling the empowereed agent of the Plaintiff into bringing an action against Dr. Schultz, his former partner, for the other half. By some artful dodging a judgment was obtained against the Doctor in his absence, and his application for a trial of the case before a jury, was disregarded by our Hudson Bay Judge. The Doctor, thus treated, refused to pay unless a trial was given and the agent of the Plaintiff, feeling probably the injustice of the position, would not push it. The Sheriff meanwhile, caught in England, pays the other half, and then follow the events of Friday.

At nine on the morning of Friday the Sheriff with a posse of constables entered the trading house of Dr. Schultz, and the Doctor appearing, a demand was made by McKenney for the immediate payment of the sum. Doctor asked to see his authority for its collection which McKenney refused to show and said that he must seize the goods. Doctor said that none of his property should go without the evidence of proper authority. The Sheriff then declared everything seized, and directed the constables to first take out a large pair of platform scales, which they proceeded to do until stopped by the Doctor who then proceeded to secure the door which had been opened by McKenney. The Sheriff then laid hands on the Doctor, but was thrown over on some bags (not struck) and, on rising, he directed the constables to arrest Dr. Schultz for an assault on the Officers of the Law. The Doctor told him that he was willing to be arrested, but not willing that his property should be removed. The Doctor then gave himself up and offered no resistance, till very rudely taken hold of by two constables when he threw them off (without striking) and then McKenney calling on all present to assist, declared that the Doctor must be bound, and directed one of the constables to bring a rope. The Doctor said that was unnecessary, but that he would submit to be tied so long as no indignity was offered. The Doctor then held his arms to be tied, which was done by the constables, without

opposition. McKenney, however, then began tightening the rope till the effect was painful, and being warned to desist, he refused, and so was again thrown over by the now tied prisoner. After this there was no resistance, and the Doctor was hurried off in a carriage without being allowed to put on his overcoat. Dr. Cowan was sent for, but shirked the case and sent for Goulet.

While waiting for the arrival of Goulet, Dr. Schultz requested, as there was a number of constables present, that the Court House doors should be locked, and he should be unbound long enough to write a note to his wife, who as yet knew nothing of his case. This was refused and the effort of writing while in this bound condition caused so much pain that, by a violent effort, one arm was freed, which Mr. McKenney perceiving made a rush, but was met and floored, the other constables then joined their efforts and the prisoner was crushed down by constables, Jailor and Sheriff, till a clothes line was procured which was tied and pulled till the *blood* gushed from the arms of the now helpless prisoner.

Goulet arriving, after a consultation in the Fort, proceeded to hear McKenney's charge of assault on the Officers of the Law. Goulet then proceeded to commit the prisoner, it then being about four o'clock. Thrust in and locked up, no food and no fire, the Doctor was left to reflect on the vanity of human things generally, and of the belief in the rights of a peaceable man to his liberty in particular. So ended the first act.

A ludicrous interlude occurred before the closing scene. Constable Mulligan was left in charge of the now seized goods in the Doctor's store, and when Mrs. Schultz wished to barricade it against the Sheriff, Mulligan refused to go out, so was nailed and spiked in, where he remained till late at night, when hungry and half frozen that "hirsute hero" humbly petitioned to be "let out" and emerged, alternately cursing the law, McKenney and seizures generally.

Dr. Schultz was locked up at four o'clock, and before nightfall the news had spread like wild fire. Angry men sped their horses to the town, where they met others as excited as themselves, earnestly discussing whether to break open the jail at once or wait till morning brought its hundreds to assist; but the news that the Doctor's wife had been refused admission to him by the Fort authorities decided the question at once. "The Doctor must not stop even one night under this accursed roof." In the meantime Mrs. Schultz had been *granted* permission by the Sheriff to take some food to her husband, and remained with him till the noise of many sleigh bells announced the glad tidings of release. First, a party at the door to obtain peaceable entrance, then a request from the Doctor to let his wife out of the inner door of the prison, then a rush of the Doctor himself who grappled with the constables who were barricading the door, then the upsetting of the jailor and the bolts drawn by the Doctor's wife, and then, as the expectant crowd saw the attack on the Doctor within, came the heavy thump of the oaken beam; soon the crash of breaking timbers, and then the loud hurrah, with maledictions on McKenney, and the escort of the Doctor to his home.

It is said to know that no disreputable characters were among the party. When the boats were of which there are said to have been six, with eight persons on board, the rioters ceased their efforts, and no violence was done to the crewing of the boats, and the marks of a clenched fist on one of the eyes of a spectator's face would not have been there had he not seen, associated with the rioting, his endeavors to draw the boats.

## APPENDIX H.

The following list of the price of certain articles of country produce at Red River settlement is inserted with the object of conveying an idea of the relative value of money in the Colony, compared with that of necessary articles of consumption. The list is copied from the *Nor' Wester* of 18th November, 1857, and is said by those who ought to know, to be a very reliable one, faithfully representing the state of the market after a harvest of average success. If anything, the prices quoted are a shade high:

ARTICLES.	PRICES.	ARTICLES.	PRICES.
	s. d.		s. d.
Wheat.....bush.	6 0	Butter.....lb.	0 8
Barley....."	4 0	Cheese....."	0 7
Oats....."	3 0	Perumican....."	0 4
Rye....."	5 0	Meat Dried....."	0 2½
Potatoes....."	1 0	Marrow fat....."	0 8
Turnips....."	1 0	Buffalo fat....."	0 6
Onions....."	8 0	Buffalo Skins dressed.....ea.	7 0
Carrots....."	4 0	Moose do do....."	12 0
Cabbages.....each	6	Buffalo Tongue fresh....."	1 0
Hay.....load	5 0	Do do salted....."	1 6
Straw....."	2 6	Do Bosses or Humps....."	2 6
Wood....."	2 6	Flour.....cwt.	15 0
Boards.....per 100	50 0	Pollard....."	5 0
Planks....."	60 0	Bran.....bush.	0 10
Shingles.....per 1000	20 0	Salt....."	12 0
Mutton.....lb.	0 3	Eggs.....doz.	0 10
Beef....."	0 2½	Fish, White.....per 100	25 0
Pork....."	0 3½	Do Sturgeon.....each.	2 6



It is well to know that no disreputable characters were among the party. When the constables, of which there are said to have been six, with eight "specials," ceased to resist, the victors ceased their efforts, and no violence was used, but the breaking of the door, and the marks of a clenched fist on one of the special constable's face would not have been there had he not rudely assaulted Mrs. Schultz in her endeavours to draw the bolts.

### APPENDIX H.

THE following list of the price of certain articles of country produce at Red River Settlement is inserted with the object of conveying an idea of the relative value of money in the Colony, compared with that of necessary articles of consumption. The list is copied from the *Nor' Wester* of 18th November, 1865, and is said, by those who ought to know, to be a very reliable one, faithfully representing the state of the market after a harvest of average success. If anything, the prices quoted are a shade high:

ARTICLES.	PRICES.	ARTICLES.	PRICES.
	s. d.		s. d.
Wheat.....bush.	6 0	Butter.....lb.	0 8
Barley....."	4 0	Cheese....."	0 7
Oats....."	3 0	Pemmican....."	0 4
Rye....."	5 0	Meat Dried....."	0 8
Potatoes....."	1 0	Marrow fat....."	0 6
Turnips....."	1 0	Buffalo fat....."	0 6
Onions....."	8 0	Buffalo Skins dressed.....ea.	7 0
Carrots....."	4 0	Moose do do....."	12 0
Cabbages.....each	6	Buffalo Tongue fresh....."	1 0
Hay.....load	5 0	Do do salted....."	1 6
Straw....."	2 6	Do Bosses or Humps....."	2 6
Wood....."	2 6	Flour.....cwt.	15 0
Boards.....per 100	50 0	Pollard....."	5 0
Planks....."	60 0	Bran.....bush.	0 10
Shingles.....per 1000	20 0	Salt....."	12 0
Mutton.....lb.	0 3	Eggs.....doz.	0 10
Beef....."	0 2½	Fish, White.....per 100	25 0
Pork....."	0 8½	Do Sturgeon.....each.	2 6



